

THE

Nonconformist.

THE DISSIDENCE OF DISSENT AND THE PROTESTANTISM OF THE PROTESTANT RELIGION.

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CONTENTS.

ECCLIASTICAL AFFAIRS:	University of London	87
Rural Wales	The Education Act:	81
Eccelesiastical Notes	School Boards	87
Disestablishment	The New Programme of	82
Working Men's Meeting	the National Education	82
in Sheffield	League	88
Legality of Irish Dis-	Court, Official, and Per-	88
establishment	sonal News	88
The Catholic Hierarchy	Epitome of News	89
and Irish Education	Postscript:	89
RELIGIOUS AND DENOMI-	The Nonconformist Con-	89
NATIONAL NEWS:	ference	89
London Baptist Associa-	LEADING ARTICLES:	89
tion	Summary	92
CORRESPONDENCE:	The Ultramontane Uti-	92
The Edinburgh Review on	matum	92
the Church and the	Prospects of the Ballot	93
Liberal Party	Bill	93
The Irish Catholics and	The Crisis in France	94
the University of	Miss Macpherson and the	94
London	Matchbox Makers	94
Christian Work in Rome	International Arbitration—	95
Dr. Livingstone	Conference in Manchester	95
The "Congregational	Foreign and Colonial	96
Year-book"	LITERATURE:	96
International Arbitration	Spiritualism	97
an Old Idea	Sermons and Expositions	98

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

RURAL WALES.

In the article which appeared in the *Guardian* commenting on the condition of our rural population as illustrated in our New Year's Supplement, it was asked with some triumph whether country parishes would be any the better for the loss of the clergyman. Must we, in fact, be the standing argument of State-Church advocates, relegate our peasantry to barbarism in order to vindicate an abstract theory. Poor, ignorant, and scattered over the face of the country, they need to have religious institutions supplied to them, or they will never hear of the Gospel. Now, we do not pretend to assert that our rural districts would, as a rule, be better for the expulsion of the parson—whom no one, by the way, proposes to remove—but we do maintain that neither poverty nor the disadvantages of country life are fatal obstacles to the existence of religious life. It cannot be denied that in Cornwall, Wales, and the Highlands of Scotland, where the influence of the State-provided clergy is of the feeblest kind, there is more of religious vitality than in other rural districts of the kingdom; nor will it be contested that this state of things is mainly the result of Christian agencies outside the Establishment. In each of these localities religious life owes little to the State clergy, but has been for the most part generated and sustained by Nonconformists. The success of the Wesleyans in Cornwall, of Dissenters in Wales, and of the Free Church in the Highlands, bears witness to the superiority of the voluntary principle as a means of maintaining religious institutions in the midst of poor and agricultural populations.

The facts in respect to Wales being better known, thanks to the zeal of Mr. Richard, M.P., and the conditions there being at first sight entirely favourable to the State Church theory, the Principality furnishes an exhaustive crucial experiment. It is admitted on all sides that an overwhelming majority of the population are Nonconformists. Taking all other denominations together, they are believed to be in proportion to Churchmen as eight to one—in many of the rural and manufacturing districts the proportion of Dissenters being much greater. It is an astounding and unprecedented fact that in 1851, when the last ecclesiastical census was taken, the Nonconformists alone provided religious accommodation for 692,339

persons—that is, 2,770 sittings in excess of the estimated requirements of the entire inhabitants of the Principality—while the Established Church furnished religious means for only thirty per cent. It is further to be observed that this extraordinary development of religious agencies is almost exclusively of modern growth. From time immemorial there has been in every Welsh parish a State provision for religion. But a century ago Nonconformity could only claim 171 places of worship. In 1866 there were no less than 3,107. It is moreover not alone in the manufacturing districts and the counties bordering on England that this increase has taken place. In agricultural Cardiganshire the means of religious worship were in 1851 97.8 per cent. on the whole population, of which Dissenters provided 70.4 per cent.!

This brief statement of facts, make what reasonable deductions you may, affords overwhelming proof of the superior efficiency of voluntary Christianity over an endowed system, even in the poorest rural districts, especially when the hindrances and disadvantages of Nonconformity in the Principality are taken into account—

"The people, for the most part," says the hon. member for Merthyr, "were poor and scattered. They had to contend with the dead weight, or rather, indeed, with the active and in many instances virulent hostility of a well-dowered Established Church. From those who may be regarded as their natural leaders, the local gentry, they have had little help and much hindrance. Owing to distance of place and difference of language they were until quite recently shut out to a large extent from the knowledge and sympathy of their wealthier Nonconformist brethren in England and Scotland. . . . From these facts there are some inferences that are obvious and irresistible. They prove—First, that the Church of England is not the Church of Wales. Secondly, that but for the exertions of the Nonconformists, Wales would have been at this time, as regards its spiritual interests, in a most pitiable plight. . . . Thirdly, that the voluntary principle, when fairly worked, is sufficient to supply the wants of a nation, seeing that the Welsh, amid poverty, isolation, and discouragement, have provided themselves with more ample means of religious worship and instruction than can be found perhaps among any people under the face of heaven."

It is, we may be told, one thing to provide religious institutions, and another to make them tell in elevating the community. In Wales, however, it has been demonstrated that the population are, in the mass, loyal subjects and orderly citizens. Granted that there is still much vice and lax morality among the people, and too many districts where civilisation is at a low ebb and cottage accommodation very disgraceful—which is not surprising, seeing that "the aristocracy of the country, generally speaking, evince but little sympathy with their countrymen who speak the Welsh language and attend Nonconformist places of worship,"† there are, nevertheless, many English counties in a much worse condition. In North Wales, the population of which is more purely agricultural and native than in the south, the percentage of illegitimate births last year, as recorded in the Registrar-General's returns, was below that of a score of English counties, including Cumberland, Cheshire, Lincoln, Norfolk, Northumberland, and Suffolk. But judicial statistics are, after all, a more unerring index of the moral condition of a people than the returns of the Registrar. In this respect the Principality will bear very favourable comparison with England. In 1864 the proportion of criminals to the population in Wales was 44 per cent. less than in England—one to every

* "Letters on the Social and Political Condition of the Principality of Wales." By Henry Richard. (London: Hodder and Stoughton.)

† Evidence of the Rev. D. Rowlands, M.A., before the late Royal Commission.

252 as against one to every 155 inhabitants—while out of those criminals who disgraced the Principality, nearly one-half were not natives. The disparity in the commitments for more serious offences was still more marked, but we have not space to give the figures. In 1865 Lord Chief Justice Cockburn, at the Anglesea Assizes, in congratulating the grand jury that there was not a single person for trial, remarked:—"This is a happy state of things, which has existed for some time in your Principality, and we all trust that the freedom from crime which has so long distinguished Welshmen may continue to do so for a long time to come." Similar testimony has been borne by the judges of the land while on circuit, down to last year. Moreover, the Judicial Statistics of 1870 have put on record that of persons committed for crime during the preceding twelve-months, 77.7 per cent. were of English, and only 2.6 of Welsh origin. Thus while the population of Wales is a little over five per cent. of the whole population of England and Wales, they contributed only 2.6 per cent. of the crime. Now as in 1865, "the inhabitants of the Principality," as Mr. Justice Shée then remarked, "set a most excellent example to the rest of Her Majesty's subjects."

Here then is a portion of Her Majesty's dominions, containing a population of about a million and a quarter, exceptionally poor in resources, with a State provision for religion, but where the spiritual zeal of Nonconformist bodies, almost unaided by the gentry, has well nigh superseded the ministrations of the authorised clergy. With every advantage on its side, the Church in Wales is not the Church of the people; the greater part of its prescribed work is done by outsiders; and even in the rural parishes Nonconformity is in overwhelming preponderance. The external results of this astonishing phenomenon we have already seen in the testimony of Her Majesty's judges, and the records of crime. We make bold to assert that this gratifying state of things arises from a religious vitality which no mere machinery can engender, and which the Established clergy have done little to foster. When Sir Roundell Palmer prophesies of the certain relapse into barbarism of village after village, should the national provision for religious instruction in England be withdrawn, he is utterly confuted, if not confounded, by the experience of agricultural Wales. The right hon. gentleman seems to despair of the effective performance of a religious work without State aid in rural England, which the poverty-stricken Wesleyans in Cornwall, the unendowed Free Church in the Scotch Highlands, and still more completely the humble and rural population of Wales, have been able to achieved.

ECCLIASTICAL NOTES.

AFTER all, there is no more prospect of uniformity in the Church than there was a year or two ago. One would have thought that the decisions in the cases of Mr. Mackonochie and Mr. Purchas would have done something; but the last information is, that Mr. Purchas is going on just as he used to go on, and that the portion of the judgment in the latter case which related to the Evangelicals is, it appears, to be generally disregarded by them. The point, of course, is whether preachers should wear a white surplice or a black gown in the pulpit. This was discussed at a private conference of the

Evangelical clergy and laity held at Exeter Hall last Wednesday, at which, as we are informed, some 200 clergymen were present, including such representative and well-known men as Mr. Auriol, Mr. Molyneux, Mr. Bardale, Mr. Ryle, and Mr. Bligh. With hardly an exception, the meeting decided to continue to wear the black gown. The meeting appears to have been a very excited one, and it is quite clear, from its proceedings, that there is no greater unity of feeling between the High and the Low Church parties than there ever was. Thus Mr. Molyneux declared that he would never consent to be inveigled by the bishops into giving up first one thing and then another, merely to please the Ritualistic Romanisers in the Church. Mr. Ryle declared that if the Evangelical party consented to the adoption of the surplice, it would for ever estrange their Nonconformist brethren, and cause such strife and contention amongst Churchmen as had never yet been witnessed since the Reformation. Mr. Hathaway expressed his determination to stand to his black gown till it was torn from his back by the Privy Council officers. A layman proposed, as a solution of the difficulty, to get rid of all the bishops, expressing his opinion that there was not a single crime of which the Bishop of Winchester would not be guilty. So the meeting decided to adhere to the black gown. Human law, therefore, can no more produce uniformity in practice than it can in belief.

Dean Stanley has now concluded his remarkable lectures on the history of the Church of Scotland. His last lecture appears to have been of an even more remarkable character than any which preceded it. The Dean tells us what, in his judgment, is the glory of every National Church. It is to carry a "blank shield." As he said "of the Church of England, so of the Church of Scotland, and so of every national Church: its glory was the great golden maxim of the ever-memorable Hailes—to carry a blank shield, with no device of sect or party." This astounding declaration was followed by others almost equally astounding. The Dean talked of the independence, and the "exquisite and unrivalled sense of humour" of the Scottish Church; although, how a Church can be a humorous Church, or how, if it can be a humorous Church, it ought therefore to continue to be established, we don't exactly see. However, the Dean expressed his confidence that the Northern Church would continue as it is. Its disestablishment, he declared, would be a miserable intolerance, an inexcusable barbarism, and a new Act of Uniformity. This language was applied also to the Established Church in England, and it all appears to have been received with pleasure and applause by the audience.

With not such pleasurable feelings, however, have Dean Stanley's effusions been received by his brethren at home. The *Church Herald* says that the Dean's ministrations, as a priest of the Church of England, must be a piece of profane unreality and mockery, if he really entertains the notions that he has expressed. The blank shield figure is denounced as loose, heterodox, and mischievous, and the *Church Herald* hopes that the publication of this lecture will help to stop the dean's "lawless and pestilent" career in England. The *Church Times* says it is hardly worth while to notice the fulsome compliments which Dean Stanley has been offering to Scotch Presbyterianism; while, as a pendant to the picture which the Dean has drawn, the *Church Review* thus describes the Scottish Establishment:—

Whatever may have been the defects (and they have been many and serious indeed) of the Anglican clergy of the English Establishment, it is at least beyond question that they have exercised, and do exercise, a most beneficial social influence throughout the country. Not even this can be claimed for the ministers of the Presbyterian Establishment, and were it to be destroyed not one good or elevating or refining influence would be weakened in Scottish society, and the cause of religion in general in that country would be much benefited by the removal of the scandal which is given by the public patronage being extended to a body of men who in refinement, morality, erudition, and industry are infinitely inferior to the ministers of every other religious community in the kingdom, some of the less reputable sects in England being perhaps excepted.

Add to this the following from the Rev. J. G. Cazenove to the *Guardian*, and it will be seen that the Dean has not been more successful in pleasing Episcopalians in Scotland than he has been in pleasing Episcopalians at home. Mr. Cazenove writes:—

The censures bestowed upon the members of our Church by the Dean we have in part deserved, and ought for the future to try and avoid. As for the advice, I do not know what our Presbyterian brethren think of their allotment, though I have an opinion about it which will, I believe, be shared by many of them, both in the Establishment and out of it. But as regards our portion, I am sure that there was much which many of us could not possibly accept. Rather than attempt to act upon it, we should prefer to fly to some land where Establishments were unknown. How

can we be expected to pay much attention to recommendations proceeding from one who, coming down professedly to teach all of us a lesson of charity, has dared to brand us with the stigma of being a "Church that worships at the shrine of Mary Stuart, of Claverhouse, and of Charles Edward"? I have had too little time to consult much with others, but I know that on my own ears those words fell with a sense of cruel insult—an insult in no wise lessened by the tone in which they were uttered.

The Bishop of Ely has given another address on the subject of Church defence. While saying that he did not fear so much from the Liberation Society as he did from the Church Union or the Church Association, the bishop still addressed himself exclusively to the objects of the Liberation Society. He asked himself whether the Church was worth defending, and, very naturally, answered that he thought she was. Then he took the ground that is becoming almost familiar to us, although it is new, viz., that he did not fear so much from disestablishment for the damage it might do to the Church, as from the damage it might do to the nation. He said that he should look at disestablishment with perfect equanimity as a bishop of the Church of Christ, but as regarded the nation the disruption would be terrible. He then proceeded to discuss the small cost of the Church's work. He put down its total revenues at 3,000,000*l.*, which sum, he maintained, "did not come out of anybody's pockets, but was left by our forefathers as endowments." Its total capital value he reckoned at 30,000,000*l.*, and then exclaimed that a diversion of such a sum from its present purpose would mean that every one who cared for religion instead of having it brought to his door without money and without price, would have to pay for it. His lordship next maintained that the Church penetrated among the town heathen more than the Nonconformists, and, in conclusion, argued that if the Church were disestablished she would cease to be pastoral. Finally, he inquired what those who sought to destroy the Church Establishment proposed to substitute in its place.

Now, a not less caustic than amusing article might be written upon the bishop's address. He might be asked how, if disestablishment did no injury to the Church of Christ, it could do any injury to the nation. He might be asked whence he derives his remarkable figures regarding Church revenues, and how it happens that, although the clergy receive those revenues, they come out of "nobody's pockets." He might be asked whether it would be a great misfortune that those who cared for religion should have to pay for it. He might be asked how, in the face of the census, he can maintain that the Church is more useful amongst the town heathens than the Nonconformists. He might be asked in what respect the Church would cease to be a pastoral church when disestablished. And, lastly, why in the name of common sense, he inquires what we propose to substitute in place of the Establishment. Substitute? What has been substituted in Ireland? in the United States? in Canada? in the Australian colonies? Did the bishop know what he was talking about?

By-the-by, an article in the *Church Herald*, on "Church Progress in America," enables us to give a specific reply to the bishop's questions. Recalling the history of that Church, the writer remarks, that "it was not until the Church in America found herself released from all State bondage, and free to pursue a proper Catholic course of duty, that her too long existing want of bishops was earnestly sought to be supplied." What has been done since she has been "released from all State bondage," is summarised in the following information, taken from the *American Church Almanac* for the present year:—

Little more than three centuries ago, as we have shown, she had three bishops—she has now fifty-three. Her whole clergy at that time did not, probably, much exceed one hundred; she has now a body of clergy numbering nearly three thousand. Her parishes are about two thousand seven hundred in number. Her registered communicants amount to upwards of two hundred and thirty-two thousand; last year her baptisms were nearly forty thousand; her confirmations upwards of twenty-three thousand; her Sunday-schoolers were more than two hundred and twenty thousand; her Sunday-school teachers were about twenty-five thousand; and the voluntary contributions to her support, and for her various operations, in thirty-five dioceses and four missionary jurisdictions, are set down at upwards of five millions of dollars, or about a million of pounds sterling. She has six missionary jurisdictions on the American continent, each with its missionary bishop; and a Western African mission, a China mission, and a Japan mission, each also having a missionary bishop at its head, as well as a Greek mission and a Hayti mission, with each a staff of missionary priests only.

Well, what we want to substitute for the present Established Church in England, is a Church that will increase and multiply, thrive and prosper as the American Episcopalian Church has done since she has been "released from all State bondage."

DISESTABLISHMENT.

WORKING MEN'S MEETING IN SHEFFIELD.

Last week there was a meeting of working men held in the Temperance Hall, Sheffield, for the purpose of forming a branch association to promote the disestablishment and disendowment of the Church of England. The meeting was called under the auspices of "The Working Men's Committee" formed in London "to promote the separation of Church and State." Mr. George Potter and Mr. G. Howell attended as a deputation from that committee. Mr. H. J. Wilson occupied the chair, and expressed his hearty agreement with those who supported disestablishment and disendowment. Mr. Potter, who was very cordially received, then addressed the meeting. His hits against the State-Church were frequently interrupted by hostile cries and Kentish fire. As it was denied that the Church, was an Act of Parliament Church, Mr. Potter said that when the Prince of Wales was supposed to be lying very dangerously ill, and when every hour a telegram was expected in Sheffield stating that death had taken him away, it was suggested that the Church of England should offer up special prayer for the recovery of the prince:—

Now, mark, although there were many hundred thousands of persons who would assemble in the churches on the following Sunday morning, they dared not to make a special prayer until the Council in London had assembled. There was not time to print the prayer, and it was therefore sent by telegram to all the towns possible, and where the telegram could not reach no special prayer was offered for the recovery of the Prince of Wales. (Cheers, cries of "Nonsense," and laughter.) That was the religion of the Church. She could not move without the State. In all the Nonconformist chapels special prayer was offered for the Prince without any Council of Parliament. (Cheers.) Did they think that the prayers of the Nonconformist ministers were not received by the great God as well as the Act of Parliament prayer. (Cheers.) Why, the prince might have died before the special prayer could be indited and sent round. (Hisses and cheers.) That was only one instance in which the State trammelled the Church; and he said, Cut her free and let her make her own religion. (Cheers and disorder.) He contended that the Church of England was a political institution. The Premier appointed the clergy with the Lord Chancellor—(cheers, and a voice: "It is false!")—and some of the clergy who got the appointments sold them by auction. (Cheers.) Did they mean to tell him that it was right to sell livings by auction? (Cries of "No.") He called "Shame" on them to allow a man to sell his living and put the money into his pocket, when he was incompetent to perform his duties. Friends who would defend a system like that would defend anything. (Laughter.) He asked who appointed the bishops, and for what purpose they were appointed, and proceeded to show that they were appointed for political purposes by whatever party were in power. He denounced the system as a system of jobbery. Why should 160,000*l.* a year be paid to twenty-seven bishops over whom they had no control? (Cries of "Shame.") Why should ten millions be paid annually to bishops and clergy, and the poor curates have very little out of it? (Cheers and disorder.) If the Church were the Church of the people, it would be a very different thing. Not one-third of the people of England belonged to the Established Church. (Hear, hear.) If they took the best authorities, they would find that six millions in England and Wales attended the service of the Church. (At this point the disorder in the meeting became so great that Mr. Potter declined to proceed, and sat down amidst loud cries of "Go on.")

A gentleman came forward and called upon the chairman to enforce order.

The Chairman complained that a fair response had not been given to what he said at the beginning of the meeting. (Cheers.) It was much easier to shut another man's mouth, than for a man to get wisdom out of his own. (Cheers.) There was not a single fool in Sheffield who could not shout an honest man down. (Cheers, hooting, and disorder.) He protested against the un-English system pursued, and appealed to the meeting to give Mr. Potter a fair hearing. (Cheers.)

Mr. Potter again rose, and was received with cheers. He repeated that it cost ten millions a year to support the Church. (A Voice: "Where does it come from?" and "That is it.") And her religion was only preached to about six millions of persons. (Cheers, and interruption, and cries of "Put him out.") There were sixteen States in the world in which religion was preached to 200 millions of people at a less cost than the Church of England cost. The Nonconformists, Catholics, and all the other sects in England preached to 16,500,000 persons, at a cost of a little more than one million per year. (A Voice: "Who pays it all?" Not you. (Cheers and laughter.) If that gentleman's religion had been shown at that meeting, he could only say it was a very poor one—(cheers)—and if he belonged to the Church it would take him a good while to prop her up. (Laughter and cheers.) He contended that it was unfair for that large sum of money to be monopolised by two-thirds of the people. The time had come when every religion should support itself. (Cheers.)

Mr. Potter concluded by saying:—

Really the time had come when the question must be handled and argued out from a political and social aspect. Religion could take care of itself. (Cheers.) Religion did not want him to defend it. It existed before the Church of England, and it would exist long after the disestablishment. (Cheers.) He contended that the working men of England were determined that the present injustice should be done away with; that they were determined that the State and Church should be separated. (No, no.) They had sounded the trumpet blast that should never fail of its sound until the work was done with. (Cheers and confusion.) Their opponents might delay it; they might interrupt their meetings; but as sure as to-morrow's sun shall

rise and shine the Church of England would be disestablished. (Cheers, and a voice: "It will," and confusion.) She would then go about her work unfettered—(A voice: "She will fall")—and when that was done, her present supporters would say, as they had said in all our past victories in movements for the elevation and advancement of the people—"better for having it done." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. HOWELL followed in a speech studded with telling facts and arguments, and took especial pains to show that they had nothing to object to with the Church except as an Establishment. He was certain that many of them would not forsake all the splendid pieces of architecture and the monuments of past ages left them by their forefathers, if the Church was in accord with the sentiments of the advanced progress of the present day. (Hear, hear.)

Mr. DOWNING proposed, and Mr. MOSELEY seconded:—

That in the opinion of this meeting it is desirable that a working men's committee should be formed to promote the separation of Church and State.

Mr. JOHN RAYNER moved as an amendment:—

That this meeting views with alarm and regret the utter want of honesty and true Christian principle in the avowed objects of the Liberation Society, believing them to be completely opposed in principle to civil and religious liberty, in practice to pure morality, and in tendency to the support of true patriotism and social order; and its promoters, instead of studying to be quiet and to do their own business, are studying to spoliage and misappropriate property, sow discord among brethren, and are helping two enemies to the common cause of Christ—infidelity and the Papacy. (Cheers, counter cheers, and Kentish fire.)

The Rev. Mr. GOOD (St. John's), in seconding the amendment, expressed the opinion that there were many histories of England Mr. Howell had not read, and asked him to name one Act of Parliament that empowered the State to give either land, money, houses, or glebes to the Church. (Cheers.) He could explain how the whole system of tithes originated. (A voice: "We know it.") Remarks had been made to the effect that every person was mulcted in so much as the Church received, but such was not the case, as when William the Conqueror parcelled out the land to his followers, it was subject to the condition that a tenth went to the Church. Mr. Howell had made a most egregious misstatement—he would not tax him with falsehood, as he attributed it to ignorance. Mr. Howell had stated that Henry VIII. despoiled the Church of Rome to give it to the Church of England. (Cries of "So he did," and cheers.) The Church of England as it at present stood was the same Church that Henry VIII. despoiled—(cheers and laughter)—the same Church that existed in the time of the Tudors. (Cries of "Gammon.") The only difference was that she had cleared her throat, and now warbled in a sweeter tone. (Great laughter and cheers.)

Mr. Councillor ELLIOTT (a Wesleyan) denied that the Church taxed those who did not belong to her for her support, and said that recently he offered at as large a meeting as that to give 10l. to the infirmity if any man could show that he paid anything in the way of taxes to the Church, and he was willing to repeat that challenge. (Cheers.) He asked them what grievance they had sustained, and complained that men would talk about what they did not understand. (Laughter and cheers.)

The Rev. J. FISHER, in supporting the original motion, said the present agitation would not end until they had perfect religious equality. Referring to the quotation from the sermon of Dr. Pye-Smith, he said that afterwards the Doctor gave in his full adhesion to the Liberation Society. (Cheers.) Replying to Mr. Elliott, he said his argument meant that they were tolerated, and they meant to be tolerated no longer. (Cheers.) As to whether they contributed nothing towards the support of the Church, he remarked that he had during the last eight years fought three church-rate battles, and if such battles had to be fought no longer, no thanks to Churchmen. (Cheers.)

The amendment was then put to the meeting and lost, and the original motion was carried by a considerable majority, amidst loud cheers.

Mr. MUSCROFT proposed the members of the Working Men's Committee. Mr. J. W. BURNS seconded the motion, and it was carried unanimously.

Mr. W. FULFORD proposed:—

That the thanks of the meeting be tendered to the Rev. David Loxton for the letters which had appeared in the *Sheffield Independent* in exposition of the principles of religious equality.

The speaker referred to the discussion which had taken place in the columns of the *Independent* between the Rev. S. Earnshaw and the Rev. David Loxton, and said Mr. Earnshaw was a clergyman who honoured the position he held, and he believed the working men of Sheffield honoured him for his outspoken honesty. (Cheers.) Alluding to Mr. Elliott's challenge for any one to say that a penny was contributed to the Church of England, he said that a neighbour came to his (Mr. Fulford's) shop on Saturday night and showed him a paper he had received. "What would you advise me to do with it?" said his neighbour. "Burn it," was his reply, "as I have burned mine." (A voice: "What was it?") It was a tithe paper from the vicar of Sheffield, with a threat that the person would be summoned immediately if he didn't pay the money. (Loud cheers.) The Rev. J. P. GLEDSTONE seconded the motion. He said he had read the letters of the Rev. Mr. Earnshaw and the Rev. Mr. Loxton which had appeared in the *Independent* with very great pleasure, and he hoped in all future discussions on this great matter such a courtesy would be observed between the opponents as there was observed between Mr. Earnshaw and Mr.

Loxton. (Hear, hear.) The resolution was carried unanimously.

NORWICH.

A well-attended working men's meeting was held at the Lecture-hall, Norwich, on Friday. Mr. Gaze, a working man, was called to the chair, and having briefly opened the meeting, Mr. GEORGE POTTER addressed the audience, especially urging that the question should now be discussed, not, as heretofore, from a religious, but from a social and political point of view. In the course of his address, the speaker observed that the Church of England could not offer a special prayer for the recovery of the Prince of Wales until it was framed by the Privy Council. (A voice: "That's false"; and a shout, "Three cheers for the Prince of Wales," a cry which was responded to by nearly all the audience.) The CHAIRMAN said that outburst of loyalty was as welcome to him as to the person who started it. Mr. POTTER then called for "Three cheers for the Queen," which was responded to most heartily by most of the audience. A few, evidently of republican tendencies, expressed their opinion in the accustomed manner. Amongst other arguments, the speaker contended that the clergy had never been on the side of the people in all the great movements upon which they had set their hearts—the abolition of the corn laws, the abolition of slavery, the extension of the suffrage, the abolition of Church-rates, justice to Ireland, and unsectarian education—and then commented upon what he called the combination between the Church and the beer-barrel. The publicans, he said, asked the clergymen to help them to a good licensing reform bill, and then promised to help to sustain the Church. The *Morning Advertiser*, supposed to be a religious paper, was doing everything to sustain this combination. But could religion be sustained by such a combination—beer and clerical vestments, public-houses and cathedrals, and bishops and landlords. (Laughter.) They might combine to delay the day, but they could never prevent the end. Mr. Potter concluded by exhorting the working men of Norwich to send those men to Parliament who would free the Church from the trammels of the State.

Mr. O. BROADHURST, of London, a stonemason, viewed the question from a day-labourer's point of view. The Church of England assumed that it was an institution specially adapted to teach the people the great principles of Christianity. But it was an admitted fact that the Church, in the large centres of industry, had already given up the hope of maintaining its hold upon the hearts of the people. Only in rural parishes had it any power; and the condition of the people in rural districts would be a very poor excuse to put forth as a right why it should continue to exist. (Hear, hear.) Mr. Broadhurst also criticised the conduct of the clergy in abstaining from aiding the people in their aspirations for liberty, and commented upon the mode in which they had dealt with endowments and bequests. In the bestowment of these bequests he maintained that they had not been impartial, and he related, as part of his own experience, that because his parents objected to catechisms and formularies he was denied a free education, to which he was entitled, while the children of the drunkard, the immoral, and the careless, who were orthodox on the Sunday, were cared for to the fullest extent. But the working men of England were going to have a reckoning up with the Church. They would say to her, to use her own words, "You have done many things you ought not to have done, and you have left undone those things which you ought to have done;" therefore from this time she must be prepared to defend herself. (Loud cheers.) The speaker further remarked that the ministers of the State-Church rarely went out into the streets and byeways to preach and to speak to the people, while Nonconformists constantly practised it, and then observed that if the Church were disestablished, the great men who were now its ornaments would then find their proper level, and meet with their proper and fair reward. In conclusion, Mr. Broadhurst expressed it as his opinion that this was perhaps the most important movement ever embraced by the working classes, and called upon them to send men to Parliament to support Mr. Miall. (Cheers.)

Mr. SPURGEON, a working man, proposed the first resolution as follows:—

Believing the time has come when the working classes should use their political influence to secure such alteration in the relation between Church and State, as to put an end to the injustice and other evils of the existing system, this meeting regards with satisfaction the formation of the London Working Men's Committee for promoting the separation of Church and State.

Mr. FENN seconded the resolution, which was declared to be carried, the greater portion of those present holding up their hands in its favour.

A working men's committee was then appointed, and with votes of thanks to the deputation and the chairman, the meeting concluded.

A similar meeting, attended by Messrs. Potter and Howell as a deputation, has been held at Dewsbury.

STRATFORD.—The Rev. G. W. Conder lectured in the Town Hall here on Monday night on the "National Aspects of the Establishment Question." His lecture was an ably-sustained argument from the citizen's point of view. The religious side of the question was untouched. An interesting spectacle was presented at the close of Mr. Conder's speech, when the Rev. Thomas Scott, vicar of West

Ham, rose and defended the Establishment. He declared himself not dependent on his congregation for his bread-and-cheese, and therefore free to say what he pleased to them; said he was the minister of the whole parish, and not merely of his congregation, and asked what the country districts would do if the clergyman were withdrawn. Mr. Horn, an artisan, and member of the West Ham School Board then moved a vote of thanks to Mr. Conder, and it was seconded by the Rev. J. Knaggs, who took up Mr. Scott's indictment of the Free Church ministers, and replied to it with warmth and eloquence. He thought it a nobler thing to depend on the free offerings of his people than to be supported by State-pay, and declared, amid loud cheers, that Dissenting ministers were not any less free of speech than clergymen of the Establishment. Mr. Conder, in reply to the vote, answered Mr. Scott with much ability and humour, and concluded by moving a vote of thanks to the chairman, Mr. James Spicer, J.P., which Mr. E. R. Cook seconded. The meeting was very orderly throughout. Its most remarkable feature was, as a sign of the times, the appearance of the vicar, who entered the lists to discuss disestablishment calmly with prominent Dissenters. The feeling of the meeting was, of course, strongly on Mr. Conder's side.

LEGALITY OF IRISH DISESTABLISHMENT.

The judges in the Court of Queen's Bench had before them on Thursday an application on the part of Canon Selwyn for a mandamus to the Marquis of Ripon, as Lord President of the Council, commanding him to present to the Queen a petition from the canon praying Her Majesty to take some course for obtaining a judicial decision as to the validity of her assent to the Irish Church Disestablishment Act. The rev. canon had sent a petition direct to the Marquis of Ripon, who had refused to present it, and had subsequently sent a petition to Her Majesty at Windsor, praying permission to present his petition through some other channel, or personally to Her Majesty. In answer to this he received a reply from Major Biddulph—"That as Her Majesty acts on the advice of her responsible Ministers in all public matters, and as the petition in question has been referred to one of them and by him refused as inadmissible for presentation, the Queen is unable to receive it through any other channel." Upon this the canon resolved to apply to this court. The Lord Chief Justice, addressing the canon's counsel, Mr. Browne, Q.C., asked if he meant seriously to contend that an Act of Parliament should be brought before the court like an order at sessions, to be quashed as invalid? Amusing as the illustration may appear (added Mr. Justice Blackburn) it is really what the present application amounts to. You want to quash an Act of Parliament. But where is the power to do so? The Queen herself cannot set aside an Act of Parliament—which is the act of Queen, Lords, and Commons. The Lord Chief Justice subsequently remarked that judicial decisions cannot bind or confine the power of the Legislature. Suppose we were to grant the mandamus, and it were to be obeyed, the Lord President would simply present the petition, and advise the Queen to have nothing more to do with it, and what would come of it? Can we grant a mandamus merely for such a conclusion as that? And yet that is the inevitable conclusion. You really can do nothing (said Mr. Justice Blackburn) unless you can get Parliament to repeal the Act, or else raise a successful revolution. Their lordships in the end refused the application.

THE CATHOLIC HIERARCHY AND IRISH EDUCATION.

On Wednesday Cardinal Cullen's education meeting, called in response to a requisition said to have been signed by 30,000 persons, came off in the Roman Catholic Cathedral, Marlborough-street, Dublin. The meeting was not very well attended. Hardly 1,500 persons were present, the church being about three-fourths filled, and the array of names did not include any of the judges, and but very few barristers or other members of the professional classes, whose abstention from signing the requisition was noticed at the time of its presentation two months ago. Cardinal Cullen presided, and among those on the platform were the Earl of Granard, Mr. Heron, M.P., Sergeant Sherlock, M.P., the Hon. W. H. F. Cogan, M.P., Mr. P. J. Smyth, M.P., Mr. Kenelm Digby, M.P., the Rev. Dr. Russell, President of Maynooth College; Mr. D'Arcy, M.P., Mr. Edmund Dease, M.P., Sir James Power, Bart., Mr. O'Byrne, High Sheriff of County Wicklow, &c.

Cardinal CULLEN said their presence in such numbers was a proof they were determined to carry out the object of the meeting, viz., to obtain an education system which would not prevent them from bringing up their children in the fear and love of God, and in obedience to His Holy Church, and from handing down to future ages the faith transmitted to them, pure and entire, through ages of persecution. Thank God, many of those who differed from them no longer threatened violence, and many of them were inclined to be kind and just. The requisition had a glorious array of signatures attached, and might be regarded as a great *plébiscite*. Every Catholic father looked on it as his conscientious duty to bring up his children in the fear and love of God, and in obedience to the True Church. Were these questions of mere politics

or matters of earthly concern he would not have invited them there. Some open enemies or pretended friends insisted on postponing the question until their adversaries should have become less excited. The report of the Royal Commission was now in their hands, but they were still told to wait until bigotry should have calmed down. Were they content to wait until their opponents thought the time fitting? If so, the day would never dawn when their rights would be admitted. In his opinion, their only policy with those in authority was to insist on their rights in season and out of season, and even when their claims might have been slighted or rejected, to continue their demands until every grievance should be removed. They were not alone in the struggle. The Catholics of the world sympathised with them, and he believed that the most influential members, both lay and clerical, of the Anglican body, and the principal Liberal and enlightened Protestants of this Empire, wished them success. They might also expect that Mr. Gladstone, and such Ministers as acted with him, would be anxious to fulfil the promise they made years ago, and would endeavour by introducing a satisfactory educational system for Ireland, to complete the work of pacification which they commenced by disestablishing the Church and carrying the Land Act, two measures of great importance, as well as calculated gradually to promote the public welfare of the country. If statesmen seriously wished to check the growth of revolution, or to stem the growing torrent of communism and infidelity, they ought to give Catholic schools to Catholics. He denied that the Catholic Church was hostile to knowledge and the progress of arts and sciences. During his own episcopate one hundred thousand pounds had passed through his hands to promote education in the diocese. He did not boast of this, but mentioned it to show the sacrifices Catholics made to promote knowledge. He objected to give up education to the State or its agents, a plan which took away the right of parents to educate their children, which ignored the right of the Church, and which, as Governments were constituted at present, having no religion, must tend to infidelity. Again, it tended to make Governments neglect temporal affairs, its proper province. Finally, State education was most expensive, and opened the way to intrigues and frauds. In France it had given the education of the youth to the *Littérés* and *Benans*. He denounced compulsory education, which he said had first been proposed by Luther, and whose principal advocates now were Jules Simon in France, and Professor Huxley in England. He did not think education should be gratuitous, except to the poor; for in some cases it lessened the value attached to it, and in others filled the country with half-educated young men aspiring to professions and offices without being properly qualified—a class of persons not only useless but dangerous to society. As to unsectarian education, Rousseau patronised it about a century ago, and in a late letter Lord Russell followed in his wake. The Presbyterians were very active in the agitation in Ireland, but this body, whose moderators and ministers, and seniors, are making so much noise, and acting with as much arrogance as if they constituted the great mass of the people of Ireland, were only nine per cent. of the population. Mixed education, by excluding Catholic teaching, put itself in direct hostility with the principles of Catholicism. In this mixed system all religions, true or false, Anglican, Presbyterian, Wesleyan, and Plymouth Brethren, were put on a footing of equality with the true Catholic Church. The national school books had been generally compiled by Protestants, and the national system had been upheld by Archbishop Whately, because it would inflict a grievous wound on the Catholic religion. Why, then, did Catholics receive and approve of the system first proposed? It was always "received by way of experiment." Its fruits have been so bad, "wherever really carried out," that they have constantly condemned it. He retorted the charge of inconsistency upon the Presbyterians. The Roman Catholic bishops (Cardinal Cullen said) continued their connection with the board because there are 2,454 national schools under Catholic managers and teachers, with 373,756 Catholics in them, and not a single Protestant. There are in Dublin sixty national schools managed by priests and nuns, with 24,355 Catholic children on the rolls, and only six Protestants altogether. "It is a mockery to call such schools mixed; it is a crying injustice to subject them to the same restrictions as if they were frequented by many Protestants." In over 2,000 more schools the Protestants are not above ten or twelve in each. "Nothing (added his eminence) but the old spirit of ascendancy would think of subjecting seventy or eighty Catholic children—about the average in each school—to religious restrictions in favour of a small fraction of Protestants." In such cases he claims "the fulness of religious teaching for Catholic children." On account of the Catholicity of the population, he went on to say, mixed schools do not and cannot exist. He further declared that proselytism is carried on in national schools, negatively, by keeping Catholic children from any knowledge of religious doctrine, and positively by "teaching anti-Catholic doctrines." Thousands, he stated, of Catholic children receive religious instruction "from Presbyterian or other heterodox teachers, recite anti-Catholic prayers, and read in the schools the Protestant version of the Bible."

Resolutions were moved by Lord Granard, Mr. Serjeant Sherlock, M.P., Mr. Kenelm Digby, M.P., Mr. Matthew D'Arcy, M.P., Mr. E. Dease, M.P.,

Sir John Bradstreet, and Alderman Campbell. After certain abstract statements, such as that education should be based on religion, it is declared to be a "serious grievance" to perpetuate the existing model and training-schools and Queen's colleges. The national schools, attended wholly, or nearly so, by Roman Catholics, are, "by a fiction of the National Board, treated as mixed schools; wherefore we call for such changes in the rules as will allow practices of piety and sanction Catholic teaching in schools practically Catholic, and demand that if in particular circumstances mixed schools cannot be avoided, measures shall be adopted to save Catholic children from the dangers of proselytism." The funds now given for "Protestant education" in Trinity College and the endowed schools are claimed in part for Catholic colleges and schools. A protest is added against the efforts by Presbyterians and others to dictate to Catholics, and the "invidious allegation of a hostile press," that the bishops and the laity are divided in opinion, is repudiated. It was agreed that an address should be forwarded to Mr. Gladstone in the name of the Catholics of Dublin.

The *Freeman's Journal* of Saturday issues an elaborate programme addressed to the "Irish Liberal party" in Ireland. It urges with great earnestness the necessity of united action, and discussing the two great questions which it says at present divide the attention of the public—namely, education and "Home Rule," it appeals to the country to put aside the latter for the present and bring all its concentrated energies into the education movement. It argues that if "the Irish Liberal party use their opportunities and with firm and united front press their demands they cannot fail," but, on the other hand, that if those "dissensions which have so often proved the curse of our unfortunate country" be allowed to exist, nothing but ignominious disaster can result. The position to which the country has attained after twenty years of labour may be compromised in as many days. It deprecates the agitation of Home Rule first, and characterises as absurd and mischievous the attempts to show that it is *per se* the more important of the two questions. "The two questions," it says, "when properly regarded, are indissolubly bound up."

The Irish "National" papers take very little notice of Cardinal Cullen's meeting. They look upon denominational education as antagonistic to Home Rule, and say that a "complete organisation has been set afoot among a certain section of the education agitators to upset, if possible, the Home Rule movement." The *Irishman* says:—"The object is to induce the English Minister to grant an education scheme embodying the principles promulgated by the Catholic bishops in their declaration. The object is a fair one enough, but the means sought to be employed by the professional agitators are thoroughly and disgracefully dishonest." The *Flag of Ireland* says:—"The Cardinal said one thing which leads us to believe that he is at last beginning to entertain some respect for public opinion. He felt proud of the requisition, because it was signed by 30,000 people, and was almost a *plébiscite*. Since the Cardinal has come to believe in *plébiscites*, we may hope that he would be very glad to assist in having a *plébiscite* of the Irish people taken on the choice of Government." The *Nation* says not one word on the subject.

In a letter to the *Daily Telegraph*, the Earl of Portarlington says that the majority of the Irish people simply expect from Parliament the same treatment as the English people are now experiencing under the operation of Mr. Forster's Education Act:—

Now let us see what the treatment is. I will quote on this point the remarkable words used by Lord Derby in his recent speech at Liverpool, as reported in the *Times* of the 10th inst.:—"Parliament has undoubtedly maintained what is called the 'denominational system,' but it has done so only in deference to the clearly expressed opinion of the great majority of the people; and, for my part, I think the popular instinct has been right. You cannot ignore the existence of strong sectarian and ecclesiastical feeling as a fact, whether you like it or not." So speaks Lord Derby. Now this is exactly the state of the case in Ireland. There exists in this country a strong sectarian and ecclesiastical feeling, whether you—England and Scotland—like it or not. All that the Irish people ask is, that Parliament, when it comes to deal with the great question of Irish education, should recognise this feeling in the same impartial spirit in which it has already recognised it when legislating for the education of the people of England. They ask no more than this—they cannot take less.

The Bishop of Worcester has decided that if Mr. Craig does not give up the vicarage of Leamington, as some of his friends wish him to do, the proceedings of the commission of inquiry must be resumed.

THE PEW-LETTING AT THE REV. WARD BEECHER'S CHURCH.—The annual letting by auction of the pews in Mr. Ward Beecher's church has just taken place. The *New York Tribune* says that the attendance was large, the bidding spirited, and the prices higher than those obtained last year.

A NOVELTY IN THE SALE OF LIVINGS.—The following advertisement appears in the *Record*:—"For sale, the advowson of an important town living, of the value of 800*l.* per annum. There is a prospect of early possession, and meanwhile the purchaser would receive good interest."

THE JEWS AND CHRISTIANITY.—The Jewish Society which had been formed at Birmingham to resist attempts at proselytising their nation to

Christianity has begun its operations. A sermon which Jews had been specially invited to hear was preached at St. Asaph's Church on Sunday afternoon, and shortly before the service began seventy or eighty Jews marched into the church, according to their custom in their own synagogues, with their hats on, which they retained during the service. The *Birmingham Post* says they listened to the sermon with great attention, and at its close the preacher was challenged by the president of the new society to a public discussion. It is understood that the challenge was accepted.

THE OLD CATHOLIC MOVEMENT.—The Court of Trautenstein, in Bavaria, in pronouncing judgment in an action for libel brought by an excommunicated clergyman named Bernard, has decided that the excommunication has no legal consequences, and that the offence is to be punished as if the clergyman still enjoyed the full exercise of his functions. A Lombard telegram from Munich states that in spite of counter agitations the Old Catholic meeting at Ratisbon has been a complete success. Professors Huber, Reinke, and Zirngiebl addressed the assembly on "the evil influences of the Jesuits," the relation of the bishops to Christianity, and the Vatican Council. It is added that no disturbance occurred.

THE POPE AND THE SWISS BISHOPS.—A letter of thanks was recently sent by the Pope to the Swiss bishops, thanking them for the pastoral they had published in favour of the dogma of Infallibility, and urging them to continue their war against the enemies of the Church, in which it was hoped the Catholic press would join. The *Swiss Times* says that it has no doubt in conformity with this appeal that a renewal of passionate attacks against the Liberal journals has been determined on by certain members of the clergy. "The pressure is extraordinary," it adds, "that has been brought to bear latterly upon the conscience in order to impede the free circulation of the Liberal journals."

UNITARIANS AND DISESTABLISHMENT.—At the recent meeting at Accrington, at which was formed a Nonconformist Association for North-east Lancashire, the Rev. S. F. Williams, of Newchurch, as reported in some of our Lancashire contemporaries, said "he was aware that in the Unitarian body to which he belonged there was a feeling rather against than in favour of the ecclesiastical movements of Nonconformity. Some of their number seemed to look with longing towards the fat pastures and broad roads of the Establishment, although the said fat pastures were very questionable ecclesiastical property, and the said broad roads were confessedly in these times leading to destruction. (Laughter.) But he believed he should be confirmed by the Unitarians present when he said that that feeling was shared only by a few, while the bulk of both their ministers and laymen had no sympathy with it. (Applause.) The cry for comprehension was becoming fainter and feebler, while the demand that religion should stand upon its own spiritual basis, and be supported by its own strong arm of spiritual power alone, and by the spirit of liberality it produces, was growing stronger"—a statement that was received with cheering.

THE DECEASED WIFE'S SISTER QUESTION.—On Monday night a meeting was held in the Town Hall, Birmingham, to advocate the repeal of the law prohibiting marriage with a deceased wife's sister. Mr. George Dawson presided, and on the platform were representatives of Church and Dissent, and of the Jewish religion. A letter was read from Mr. John Bright, stating that he could not at present take part in public matters, and that he had nothing to say on this subject which he had not said three years ago in the House of Commons. The speakers were the Rev. W. Walters, the Rev. G. J. Emanuel, Mr. P. H. Muntz, M.P., the Rev. S. Thomas, the Rev. H. W. Crosskey, Mr. J. S. Wright, and Mr. Payton. Resolutions were passed declaring that, in the opinion of the meeting, marriage with a deceased wife's sister was in harmony with the Divine law and conducive to the best interests of the State, and that the legislative prohibition of such marriages was a violation of the rights of citizenship, a moral evil, and a social wrong; also that the meeting recorded its hearty satisfaction that Her Majesty's assent had been given to a bill legalising marriage with a deceased wife's sister in the colony of South Australia—a fact which rendered the continuance of restrictions on such marriages in the United Kingdom in the highest degree inconsistent, inexpedient, and unjust, as it could not be maintained that that should be held a crime in the United Kingdom which was no crime in South Australia. A petition to both Houses of Parliament in accordance with these resolutions was adopted by the meeting. An amendment was moved upon the first resolution, but it met with only two or three supporters.

THE DEAN OF WESTMINSTER'S MISSION IN SCOTLAND.—Dean Stanley has been delivering further addresses at the Philosophical Institution in Edinburgh. The object of the dean's visit is now apparent enough. He is well known in England as the great defender of the most thorough Erastianism. He wishes the Established Church to be open to men of every shade of opinion, from the borders of Atheism to those of Roman Catholicism, or even of Buddhism or Mohammedanism. This is the dean's great idea of the purpose of an Established Church. He goes to Scotland to support the same idea there, leaguely himself with Mr. Wallace, a man in whom few of the ministers and elders of his own Church have confidence. He praises up the Moderates of last century, whose idea of a State-Church was so much in harmony with his own. The project will not succeed. There are certain elements which will

be attracted by it, but Scotland is not prepared for the approval of a course which would belie her whole history from the Reformation period downwards, and make her army of martyrs of successive periods martyrs by mistake. If the dean is right, then all the great conflicts of Scotland were great blunders. He cannot even understand the earnestness of Scottish religion. His scheme, we can assure him, will never succeed. If the policy he recommends were attempted to be carried out, there would be another Disruption in the Establishment, for a very large section of that Church would abhor the idea of such looseness as he approves. The dean, indeed, by his outspokenness, is injuring the cause of his friends, and doing a great deal to weld together all the honest Presbyterians of Scotland in their opposition to their policy. Nothing would so hasten a large and comprehensive union as the attempt to make the Establishment an all-embracing Erastianism. — *Weekly Review (Presbyterian)*.

BLACK OR WHITE.—A conference of clergy and laity was held at Exeter Hall on Wednesday last, for the purpose of considering the Bishop of London's recommendation in his recent charge that clergymen should wear the surplice in the pulpit. The points to be discussed had been previously submitted in a circular to 1,250 Evangelical Churchmen. There were present Mr. Holt, M.P., the Hon. W. Ashley, Canon Auriol, the Rev. Mr. Hunter, Mr. R. E. L. Bevan, the Rev. W. Cadman, General Lawrence, the Rev. Dr. Walker, and a large number of other gentlemen. On the motion of the Rev. J. C. Ryle, the following resolutions were adopted, with four dissentients:—"1. That the general adoption of the surplice as the pulpit dress before such dress is duly established by law is highly inexpedient, inasmuch as it is a departure from long-established usage, is contrary to the recommendation of the Ritual Commissioners, and is not desired by the laity; and furthermore is likely to give grave offence to many congregations and to disturb the peace of the Church. 2. That this resolution be signed by the chairman, and embodied in a memorial on behalf of the conference and the bodies represented in it, to be forwarded to the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, and made public in any way the Council of the Church Association and the Committee of the Clerical and Lay Union may think best." During the discussion the Rev. Capel Molyneux argued that uniformity in the dress worn in the pulpit was not desirable, and emphatically declared that he would not give up his gown while the law permitted him to retain it. It was announced that Lord Shaftesbury had written to the Church Association, expressing his earnest hope that the Evangelical clergy would do all in their power to resist the pressure now being put upon them to enforce the use of the surplice in the pulpit. He trusted none of them would do so until the point had been settled by the Privy Council.

LONDON UNION DEBATING SOCIETY—CHURCH AND STATE.—A public meeting of this society was held on Wednesday evening at University College, when the subject debated was, "That State interference in religious affairs is unwarrantable and impolitic." The chair was taken by Mr. Winterbotham, M.P.; and despite the inclemency of the evening, there was a pretty good attendance of members. When the debate of the evening was reached, the affirmative of the proposition was maintained by Mr. Desanges Purcell, who contended that the time when the union of Church and State was appropriate and useful had long gone by; and mentioned several circumstances which induced him to think that the period was approaching when their alliance should be severed. Among the evils which he attributed to its maintenance was the existence of a State-made religion and State religious education, and the introduction of law into religion. The opposition to Mr. Purcell's proposition was undertaken by Mr. Vaughan (University), who argued for the right of the State to control fantastic or injurious religions, and instanced as examples of these not only Thugism and Buddhism, but Mormonism and the tenets of the Peculiar People. The debate was continued for some time with much spirit on both sides, and traversed nearly all the subjects which are connected with the Churches and Governments. In its course Mr. Winterbotham, who was compelled to leave before its close, took occasion to make a few remarks. The hon. gentleman, fully recognising the fact that no one had a right to ask the State to interfere with matters of conscience, pointed out that the influence of religious opinions went beyond those, and might lead men to perform actions which it would be the duty of the State to prevent. The real difficulty, he suggested, arose when religion took the form of organisation. Then it was necessary to inquire what were the limits of the organisation, and to ascertain whether its orbit came into collision with that of the State. In his opinion it was the duty of statesmen to interfere as little as possible with religion; but at the same time they must always bear in mind this exception, and where it might be necessary to exercise control not over individual consciences, but over religious organisations. When the question was put, the motion was defeated by a majority of two, the numbers being eight to six.

Dr. MacHale, Roman Catholic Archbishop of Tuam, has just published an edition of Moore's *Melodies* in Irish.

The article on "Mahomet," in the current number of the *British Quarterly Review*, is, the *Athenaeum* believes, from the pen of Mr. E. A. Freeman. That on M. Lanfrey's "History of Napoleon the First," is by Professor Seeley.

Religious and Denominational News.

LONDON BAPTIST ASSOCIATION.

The annual meeting of this association was held in the Metropolitan Tabernacle, Newington, on Tuesday last. A paper was read to the ministers assembled in the morning by the Rev. B. Preece, of Limehouse, on "The Sovereignty of Divine Love," upon which discussion followed. A letter was read from the Rev. Dr. Brock announcing his determination to resign the pastorate of the church at Bloomsbury in September next, and earnest prayer was offered by several brethren that Divine guidance and blessing might be vouchsafed their honoured friend. Upon the motion of the Rev. J. A. Spurgeon, seconded by the Rev. F. Tucker, the letter was ordered to be put upon the minutes.

After dinner, provided by the church at the Tabernacle, the president of the association, the Rev. D. Katterns, took the chair, and gave an inaugural address on the subject of prayer. Mr. Jas. Harvey, the treasurer, and the Rev. S. H. Booth, the secretary, were unanimously and by hearty acclamation re-elected for the ensuing year. The Rev. J. T. Wigner proposed a vote of thanks to Mr. Tucker, the retiring president, and this was seconded by the Rev. D. Jones, B.A., and carried. The following churches, with their pastors, were then received into the association:—Devonshire-street, Commercial-road, Rev. Mr. Jennings, pastor; Penge, Rev. J. Collins, pastor; Peniel Tabernacle, Rev. W. A. Thomas, pastor; Dalston Junction, Rev. A. A. Bird, pastor; Hornsey Rise, Rev. F. Smith, pastor.

The report for the year was then read. It stated that the present number of churches in the association was 117. Seven churches, with their pastors, had been received during the year. A report followed on the quarterly and other meetings of the association. District quarterly meetings had increased. Reference was made to the opening of Highbury-hill Chapel, and great satisfaction was expressed that this spacious and costly building is, chiefly through the liberality of Mr. Sands, entirely free of debt. At the annual meeting last year 1,000*l.* was voted as the grant towards the new chapel to be built under the presidency of the Rev. F. Tucker, and the committee reported a legacy of 1,000*l.*, or, deducting legacy duty and expenses, 874*l.* 10*s.* 8*d.*, by the late Mrs. Rees, designated, "The Salter's Trust." At the quarterly meeting in April, at Downs Chapel, Clapton, it was resolved that the grant of 1,000*l.* should go towards a chapel to be built in Wandsworth-road, and that the Salter's trust-money should be granted in aid of the chapel to be built at New Barnet. Delays have arisen in the carrying out of both these projects. The treasurer's accounts show that the amount received up to the present time, including the promises given at the last annual meeting towards the balance due to Highbury-hill Chapel, amounting to 218*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.*, is 1,218*l.* 16*s.* The congregational collections amount to 717*l.* 19*s.* 4*d.*, and the subscriptions to 381*l.* 13*s.* 8*d.*, of which 218*l.* 18*s.* 2*d.* was due to Highbury-hill; leaving 162*l.* 15*s.* 6*d.* towards the grant of the last year 141*l.* 12*s.* must still be raised to meet the vote of 1,000*l.* for the Wandsworth Chapel. 102 churches have made collections or paid equivalent contributions, and nine have sent no contributions at all. The returns from the churches show a membership of 27,476, as against 26,071 of last year, or a net increase of 1,405, as against 205 last year. The gross increase in the whole association is 2,823, or more than 24 per church. Information is given in the report as to the number of sittings supplied in the chapels of the association. The figures give about 68,000 sittings as the full capacity of the associated chapels.

Mr. HARVEY then read the balance-sheet and Mr. SPURGEON made a statement relative to the scheme for the liquidation of chapel debts. It had not been a success, but he was glad to say that several churches had been helped and many stimulated to work for the reduction of those debts which have been such burdens upon the churches. The Rev. R. WALLACE proposed, and Mr. W. R. RICKETT seconded, the adoption of the report, which was carried. The sum of 140*l.* was raised in the room within ten minutes to meet the deficiency on the new chapel account, and, upon the motion of Dr. LANDELS, it was agreed that the grant for the present year should be 1,000*l.* The Rev. J. A. Spurgeon was then elected the vice-president of the ensuing year; and the following gentlemen were elected on the committee:—Dr. Brock, J. Clifford, Dr. Culross, W. Howieson, D. Jones, Dr. Landels, W. Olney, J. Sands, C. H. Spurgeon, F. Tucker, and J. T. Wigner.

In the evening there was a large public meeting held in the Tabernacle, presided over by the Rev. D. Katterns, and subsequently by the Rev. J. A. Spurgeon. Mr. Katterns made some effective remarks on the conditions under which a revival of religion might be expected; and Mr. Henry Varley spoke earnestly on the need of the power of the Holy Ghost. Mr. Spurgeon gave an address which elicited much applause, in which he referred to a tract published for little children by a gentleman calling himself a Catholic priest, a minister of the Episcopal Church, teaching baptismal regeneration. The writer of the tract in question stated that when the children saw the sexton pouring the water into the font they were not to suppose that it was water, for it was in reality blood—the blood of Jesus Christ. And these, exclaimed Mr. Spurgeon, are

the gentlemen whom we have to pay—we Protestants! It is high time that the National Church, so called, should come to an end. (Loud cheers.) He believed that other Evangelical Churches would come to see that infant baptism was at the bottom of all Popery. The Baptists, he contended, were in the best position to meet superstition in the present age.

DEATH OF THE REV. DR. ROBSON.

(From the *Glasgow Daily Mail*.)

We have to announce with the deepest regret the death of the Rev. Dr. Robson, senior minister of Wellington-street United Presbyterian Church, which took place on the morning of the 21st, at his residence, Ajmere-villa, Langside. We are sure that the news will excite great sorrow, not only in the denomination of which Mr. Robson was a conspicuous ornament, but throughout the country and its colonial dependencies. The deceased clergyman was the son of the Rev. John Robson, pastor of the General Associate Congregation of Cupar-Fife, and was born there in 1806. He was educated at the university of our city, where he obtained high distinction for his diligence and his attainments, especially in mathematical sciences, and he was licensed in 1831 as a preacher of the Gospel by the United Associate Presbytery of Glasgow. From the outset of his course he took high rank as a popular and most impressive preacher, and efforts were speedily made by several congregations to secure his services as their pastor. He gave the preference to the newly-formed congregation of Lasswade, and was settled there in 1832. His success was great and immediate; but strongly as he was attached to his people and to that quiet and romantic spot, it soon became evident that his congregation would not long be allowed to retain his services. After an unsuccessful effort to induce him to remove, first to Greenock, and afterwards to Duke-street, Glasgow, he was chosen to be the colleague of the Rev. Dr. Mitchell, of Wellington-street Congregation, one of the professors of the then United Secession Church, and was inducted to that charge in 1841. Dr. Robson's constitution was never very robust, and the labours of the weighty charge on which he had entered speedily broke down his health, compelling him to suspend for a season his ministerial work and to seek rest and relief in a voyage to Jamaica. During his residence in that island he narrowly escaped destruction from an accident which deprived of life his brother-in-law, the Rev. Mr. Paterson, who at the moment was seated by his side. In the beginning of 1844 Dr. Robson's connection with Dr. Mitchell, which had been throughout one of unbroken harmony, was dissolved by the death of his reverend colleague, and from that period until about four years ago he had the sole charge of a congregation, probably the most numerous, and certainly one of the most liberal and influential, in the United Presbyterian Church. It required ability and energy of no ordinary kind to superintend the operations of a congregation consisting of somewhere about 1,200 members, contributing annually between four and five thousand pounds for the support of the Gospel, and of schools and missionary and benevolent operations at home and abroad. But Dr. Robson was fully equal to the task, weighty though it was, and proved himself in every department of ministerial labour "a workman that needed not to be ashamed." His pulpit discourses were distinguished not so much for profound or original thought or a display of exegetical learning—though he was an accomplished scholar—as for their lucid, judicious, and accurate statement of Scriptural truth, their earnestness and unctious, and their discriminating and pointed application to the hearts and consciences of his hearers. His manner in the pulpit was singularly easy, graceful, natural, and pleasing. His fine open countenance, his animated appearance, his fluency of utterance, the pleasingly modulated tones of his voice, his becoming and graceful action, and the solemn devotional feeling which pervaded both the matter and the manner of his discourses, riveted attention, and threw a peculiar charm over his appearances in the pulpit. As a pastor, Dr. Robson was singularly faithful, assiduous, and successful. His heart overflowed with affection for his flock, especially for the young, and pastoral work was with him not a task but a pleasure. But professional duties by no means monopolised his interest or absorbed his energies. He was not more distinguished as a minister of the Gospel than as a public-spirited citizen, an enlightened philanthropist, a liberal patriot, a Catholic Christian, and an ardent advocate and generous supporter of missionary enterprise. He took the deepest interest in everything relating to the progress of Christian union, of education, of civil and religious liberty, the assertion of the rights of conscience, and the improvement of the outward condition of the people. Dr. Robson was a pattern in all his domestic and social relations, and a hearty, generous, and trustworthy friend. All who knew him will readily acknowledge that he was a Christian gentleman of spotless integrity and honour, of a most genial disposition, and simple, unaffected, and kindly manners. His removal has left a blank in the religious and philanthropic circles of our city which will not soon be filled. In 1844, the Senatus of our University conferred on him the degree of D.D.; and in 1861, he filled the office of moderator of the U.P. Synod. Dr. Robson's health has been declining for some years past, but the appointment of the Rev. Dr. Black as his colleague in 1868 re-

lieved him from the overwhelming burden of his ministerial duties, and it was hoped would have prolonged his valuable life. A severe attack, however, in August last of the illness (heart-disease) under which he had for some years laboured, broke down his strength; and, though he partially rallied from that attack, and seemed, indeed, to have almost recovered from it, a somewhat sudden return of his malady carried him off on Sunday morning. He has left a widow and three sons—two of them in the ministry—and a daughter to mourn his loss.

Mr. Edwin Osborne, of the Metropolitan Tabernacle, has accepted a very cordial invitation to become the pastor of the "Carlton Baptist Chapel," Southampton.

The Rev. W. Anderson, of Warkworth, Northumberland, has received and accepted a unanimous invitation to the pastorate of the Baptist Church, King's-road, Reading, Berks.

CROSS-STREET CHAPEL, ISLINGTON.—It is announced elsewhere that the Rev. Harris Craswell, B.A., who was unanimously elected pastor of the above church in October last, and who resigned his charge at St. Mary's-gate, Derby, at the close of the year, will commence his new ministry on Sunday next. He succeeds the Rev. Clement Bailhache, who some time since accepted the office of association secretary to the Baptist Missionary Society.

METROPOLITAN CONGREGATIONAL UNION.—As the result of several private meetings of various leading ministerial representatives of the denomination held to discuss the desirability of uniting the Independent churches of the metropolis in one compact organisation, an invitation has been issued to all the pastors and deacons "to meet for solemn prayer and conference at the Weigh House Chapel, on Tuesday, January 30th." The circular is signed by many influential names. According to the proposed plan the lay element is to be widely represented. "Not fewer than two deacons" to one minister are invited to the conference.

CLAREMONT CHAPEL, PENTONVILLE.—The church and congregation worshipping at Claremont Chapel, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Walter Baxendale, having recently spent about 1,300*l.* in repairs, alterations, &c., held their inauguration services in connection with the opening of a new "jubilee" organ during the past week. The organ, which is a sweet-toned and well-balanced instrument, was built by Mr. G. M. Holdich, of Liverpool-road, at a cost of about 500*l.* On Wednesday, Jan. 17, a concert of sacred music was given by the choir, with the assistance of numerous friends from Union and other chapels, under the able direction of Mr. J. Gale Smith (the organist of the chapel). Mr. E. Prout, B.A., organist of Union Chapel, presided at the organ, and did full justice to his high professional reputation. The evening was a great success, and the chapel full, though, from the state of the weather, a large audience might scarcely have been expected. On Sunday last sermons were preached in the morning by the Rev. George Martin, of Lewisham High-road Church, and in the evening by the Rev. R. D. Wilson, of Craven Chapel, when collections were made on behalf of the organ fund.

SUNDERLAND.—On Sunday evening week, the Rev. A. A. Rees, the well-known pastor of Bethesda Chapel, Tatham-street, who lately engaged Victoria Hall as a preaching place on Sunday evenings for an indefinite period, conducted the first religious service in it. Some time before the hour announced for the commencement of worship, all the seats were filled; even the dress circle, to which, in accordance with the rule of the directors of the company, a charge is made, was inconveniently crowded; and a large number of persons had to leave the hall without being able to gain admission. It is estimated that the maximum number which the directors state the hall will hold, viz., 3,000—was far exceeded on Sunday evening. Mr. Rees took up his position behind a table at the front of the upper platform; while the choir was assembled on the lower platform. The service commenced by the choir singing a hymn, after which the pastor read the lesson, the subject of which was the "Prodigal Son." Mr. Rees having offered up a prayer, and another hymn having been sung, he proceeded to preach a powerful sermon from the 2nd chapter of Luke, the 8th and following verses, relating to the birth of Christ. He concluded his sermon by an earnest appeal to his hearers to forsake the ways of sin. The discourse was listened to with the greatest attention throughout.

PROPOSED CONGREGATIONAL UNION FOR YORKSHIRE.—A meeting of the amalgamated committees of the three Ridings of Yorkshire was held in the large room of the Adelphi Hotel, York, under the presidency of the Rev. J. Parsons, a few days ago. The meeting was composed of the leading ministers and gentlemen connected with the Congregational body at Bradford, Halifax, Leeds, Huddersfield, Hull, Scarbro', Whitby, Bridlington, &c., and its object was to take into consideration the importance and desirableness of forming one compact association, called "The Yorkshire Congregational Union and Home Missionary Society." After the financial position of the three unions had been explained, the places for the annual meetings had been discussed, and a set of rules had been agreed upon, the feeling of the meeting was in favour of recommending amalgamation to the forthcoming annual meetings of the three associations, and resolutions in accordance therewith were adopted. The Rev. C. Illingworth gave the ministers and gentlemen a hearty welcome to York in the name of the

two churches, and of his colleague, the Rev. J. Hunter, whose unavoidable absence he regretted. The Rev. B. Dale, of Halifax, proposed a vote of thanks to the ministers and deacons of the two York churches for the kind and hospitable way in which they had received their brethren. The Rev. C. Illingworth and the Rev. J. Parsons responded, and the meeting concluded.

Correspondence.

THE EDINBURGH REVIEW ON THE CHURCH AND THE LIBERAL PARTY.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Will you let me call your attention to a rather peculiar article in the current number of the *Edinburgh Review*, entitled, "The Church, the Land, and the Liberals." The object of the article is to show to the Clergy and the agricultural party that it is to their interest to support a Liberal Government, and if they, especially the former, do not do so, Liberal Governments will have to throw them over. I wish only to call your attention to what is said concerning the Clerical party. At present, the writer remarks, the Conservative party claims the Established Church as permanently its own; especially, he says, has this been the case with the clergy, and those, their lay brethren, of whom Mr. Walpole may be taken as a favourable type, who are as ecclesiastically minded as ecclesiastics themselves. These people have, for years past, been identifying themselves with one political party. They did so notably when they expelled Mr. Gladstone from the representation of Oxford University, and still more during the Irish Church contest. But that contest is now over, and the writer carefully reminds Conservative Churchmen of the services which the Liberal Government has since rendered to them. Referring to the education and the disestablishment questions, he says:—

Nor should the adherents of the Established Church be unmindful of the fact that the present Government has carried an Education Bill for England, highly favourable to the Church, nor that it has stood between them and Mr. Miall; and that by both these steps it has materially compromised its popularity with its most advanced supporters. Seriously we would ask the clergy whether they think Lord Derby or Mr. Disraeli a better Churchman than Mr. Gladstone; or, setting aside all considerations of individuals, whether they are of opinion that the Establishment would stand on any firmer basis if a Conservative Government were to accede to office?

After this, an appeal is made to the self-interest of State-Churchmen, in order to show that if they do not identify themselves with the Liberal policy, there is no alternative for them but to go to the wall. The passage upon this point is a long one, written with great care and candour, and worth quoting without abridgement.

The Established Church claims to be the national Church of England. To justify this position she must show herself comprehensive and tolerant in religious, and even more so in secular matters. We would invite the zealots of the Establishment to examine and consider the ground on which it rests. The Established Church, if not a corporation properly so-called, is an institution made up of an aggregate of corporations. The clergy as the ministers of an Established Church are an order in the State. From this point of view both are creatures of the State, and what the State has made it has a perfect right to unmake. If men friendly to the maintenance of an Establishment, but who hold it to be essential, not only to the prosperity but to the stability of society and the empire, that our government should on the whole be conducted according to the principles of a Liberal policy, find that the organisation, the resources, and the position of that Establishment are systematically employed to thwart and defeat such a policy, they will be compelled to choose between them. What that choice will be cannot be doubtful, and the Establishment will discover too late that by identifying itself with a party it has abdicated its national character it has irrevocably sealed its own doom. We do not wish to indulge in speculations as to the future. It may be the inevitable tendency of modern thought and modern habits of life that State Churches should everywhere disappear and be replaced by Free Churches. "Parliament," prophesies one of the personages in "Lothair," "made the Church of England, and Parliament will unmake the Church of England." Lord Derby, if our memory does not mislead us, said not many years ago, that the voluntary system would be prevalent in this country in the next century. We content ourselves with saying that the duration of the Establishment, however strong its legal status and its historical position, depends mainly on public opinion. It depends on the degree in which it is found to answer the purpose of an Establishment in bringing religious teaching and religious ministrations home to the masses of the people, and in the discreet or indiscreet use it makes of the vantage ground it politically occupies. The political Dissenters, who object on principle to any Establishment, it cannot of course hope to conciliate. But there are millions whom neither Church nor Dissent reaches, and who care for neither. To these the Church is known only as a wealthy corporation connected with the upper ten thousand, the members of which are ever found on the side of resistance to popular claims and popular desires. Such a state of things demands careful consideration by the clergy out of pure self-interest. It demands it still more from a higher point of view. How can they hope to advance their religious mission unless they remove the antipathy and disarm the suspicions of those who seek to approach? Surely it behoves them to weigh well the satisfaction, nay the duty, of not repelling their flocks, against that of recording a vote in opposition to some policy of non-intervention, or to some measure of finance, or of reform, which they dislike.

At the close of the article the writer returns to this subject. He says, once more, that if the Church makes

herself one with any political party, she advances in a course which must seriously jeopardise, if not prove fatal to her position as an Establishment. "Whether," he concludes, "it be not a reproach and a danger to the Liberal party to allow the present alienation to continue, without any attempt to bring about improved relations, we earnestly commend to the consideration of the leaders of that party."

Now, this article, if it means anything, means this: That if the Church will not support the Liberal party, it will have to meet the inevitable fate of disestablishment. At the same time, the Liberal Government is entreated to bring about "improved relations" with the Church. Of course it can only do this by separating itself from the Nonconformists. It is evident that the *Edinburgh Review* does not like the present position of affairs. It would prefer to see the Liberal party resting, not, as it does now, on the Nonconformists, but on the Church. It would like, I should judge, a continuance of action in Mr. Forster's line, the end of which would be, if there were anything like united action on the part of the clergy, that the Liberal Government could afford to snap its fingers at the Nonconformists and their friends. I don't think this will happen, but the suggestion, coming from the quarter that it does, is certainly worth noting.

Yours truly,

A LIBERAL, BUT NOT A WHIG.

THE IRISH CATHOLICS AND THE UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—The enclosed correspondence has recently taken place between the Committee of Deputies of the Three Denominations and Mr. Gladstone.

You may think it of sufficient interest at the present time to give it to your readers—if so, it is at your service.

I am, Sir, your obedient servant,

C. SHEPHEARD, Secretary,

78, Coleman-street, London, Jan. 23, 1872.

To the Right Honourable W. E. Gladstone, M.P.,
First Lord of the Treasury.

The Memorial of the Committee of the Deputies of Protestant Dissenters, Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist, in and within twelve miles of London, appointed to protect their civil rights,—
Sheweth,—

That the policy of Her Majesty's Government in relation to the Established Church in Ireland in the session of Parliament of 1868-9 met with unreserved acceptance by the English people, inasmuch as it sought to secure religious equality not by the indiscriminate endowment of all religious bodies, but by their impartial disendowment.

That the distinct refusal of the Roman Catholics of Ireland to participate in any redistribution of the revenues of the Church Establishment, or to accept any other endowment, greatly aided the settlement of the question in Parliament.

That the rumour of an intention of Her Majesty's Government to endow a Roman Catholic University or college in Ireland has filled your memorialists with apprehension and alarm.

That, should such rumour have any foundation in truth, it would, in the judgment of your memorialists, be a complete reversal of the policy of Parliament in 1868 as shown by the disendowment of Maynooth College, as well as by the disendowment and disestablishment of the Irish Church, and as distinctly opposed to your own emphatic declaration "that the Government, in dealing with the religious bodies in Ireland, would deal with them strictly, impartially, and equitably, on the principles of civil justice and on the grounds of citizenship."

That a similar proposal by your immediate predecessors in office was condemned by you in your speeches in Lancashire. Your memorialists also call your attention to your declaration in Parliament, that "in reference to Trinity College, Dublin, it would be impossible to maintain the present exclusive application of revenue to the purposes of a governing body and staff wholly connected with one religious persuasion."

That in the opinion of your memorialists the University of Dublin is a national institution, and being national should be freely open to all classes of the people, and should afford in mixed classes the advantage of association to students of all religious communions. That the appointment of professors, the choice of books, and the control of studies should not be in the interest of any sect, and that the students should be trained as good citizens, and not brought up under the exclusive management of ecclesiastics as the adherents of any church or party in the State.

That for these and other reasons your memorialists respectfully urge upon Her Majesty's Government to lend no countenance to any proposal to establish and endow in Ireland any university or college which shall not be freely open to all classes of Her Majesty's subjects, declaring at the same time their belief that any yielding to the recently published demand of the Roman Catholic hierarchy by consenting to the establishment of a university or college for Roman Catholics would be regarded by the friends of religious liberty in the United Kingdom as equivalent to a proposal in favour

of the establishment of Roman Catholicism as the religion of Ireland, and as the reversal of the policy deliberately sanctioned by Parliament in the session of 1868.

Signed for and on behalf of the committee,
CHARLES REED, Chairman.

Jan. 11, 1872.

(Copy.)

10, Downing-street, Whitehall, Jan. 20, 1872.

Sir,—Mr. Gladstone desires me to acknowledge the receipt of the memorial of the Committee of the Deputies of Protestant Dissenters, Presbyterian, Independent, and Baptist, in and within twelve miles of London, praying that the Government will not support any proposal for the establishment of a college or university for Roman Catholics in Ireland.

With reference to the paragraph in the memorial which states that the rumour of an intention of Her Majesty's Government to endow a Roman Catholic University or college in Ireland, has filled the memorialists with apprehension and alarm, I am directed to express Mr. Gladstone's regret that they should have suffered alarm on account of rumours which, as is justly observed in the following paragraph, are opposed to the public declarations of Her Majesty's Government, and which, therefore, it is hardly necessary to add, have no foundation in fact.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient servant,

W. B. GURDON.

C. Shephard, Esq.,

Secretary to the Deputies of Protestant Dissenters, &c.

CHRISTIAN WORK IN ROME.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—Rome, as a field of Christian labour, is at present engrossing the attention of the Church of Christ. You were kind enough, some weeks since, to give a report of a meeting held at my house, at which I gave details of information which I had gained during a recent visit to Rome. My chief object in writing you this note—on the eve of my departure for Italy and the East—is to acknowledge through your medium the generous response of the Continental Committee of the Sunday-School Union, of the Committee of the Religious Tract Society, and of T. B. Smithies, Esq., in answer to my appeal for publications, tickets, cards, &c., for schools in Rome, and for general circulation.

The Sunday-School Union Committee have voted tickets, cards, illustrated papers, &c., to the amount of 10*l.*, half for Rome, and half for the schools of Palestine and the Lebanon. They have also resolved to print a series of tickets and reward cards for Rome in the Italian language. Dr. Davis, of the Religious Tract Society, who with two other gentlemen has started for Rome, with the view of extending operations in the Italian capital, has promised me an open letter to all their continental and Eastern agents, authorising them to supply all the tracts, &c., that I can put into useful circulation.

Mr. Smithies has just brought out a splendid sheet almanack in the Italian language, beautifully illustrated, and he has placed at my disposal 5,000 copies, in addition to 8,000 illustrated Italian wall papers, fly leaves, translations of the *British Workman*, *Friendly Visitor*, &c., the invoice of the whole exceeding 20*l.* With this rich cargo of valuable printed matter, I shall be able to cheer the hearts of Christian labourers in Rome a week hence. I mention these facts to stimulate others on behalf of emancipated Italy and her new capital.

Mr. Wall, the indefatigable missionary in Rome, informs me in a letter received a few days since, that he had just posted 8,000 copies of Gospels and other parts of the Scriptures to various parts of Italy, and that he is now engaged in supplying a copy of the New Testament to every family to which he can get access in Rome, and I have a very gratifying communication from Miss Gould, in reference to the newly-formed schools.

I am, dear Sir, yours very respectfully,

THOMAS COOK.

98, Fleet-street, Jan. 22, 1872.

DR. LIVINGSTONE.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—The Geographical Society is, as your readers are probably aware, raising a voluntary fund for the purpose of sending out an expedition in search of Dr. Livingstone. It seems to me that this object has peculiar claims upon the Nonconformist body. Dr. Livingstone's labours have not only contributed to the honour of science, but especially to the honour of Nonconformists. I should be glad if we could and would, as we could easily, contribute the whole expense of this humane mission; but I do think that we ought to share largely and notably in the expense. We are often charged with narrow sympathies: here is an opportunity of proving that our sympathies are not so narrow as, unfortunately, they sometimes seem to be.

Yours faithfully,

A NONCONFORMIST.

Jan. 22.

THE "CONGREGATIONAL YEAR BOOK."

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—In your last week's notice of the "Year-book" you state "that perhaps there may be some omissions

in the lists contained in the 'Year-book.'" One cannot but agree with you that the numbers of the new churches formed and chapels erected are very low. But I do not think that these numbers are correct, and if we are to be guided in judging from the inaccuracy of other registers in the same book, they are not. For instance, in the list of ordinations of last year the ordinations of Mr. Brierley and myself are omitted. If this list is of any importance, then we are placed at a disadvantage. The "Congregational Book Register" is, to my own knowledge, incomplete. Probably the "Year-book" is more accurate than any other book of its sort; but it is far from perfection. If we knew the resources of its respected editor, perhaps we could put more confidence in its statistics. Possibly the matter rests with the secretaries of county associations; if so, we may venture to express our desire that they will make their valuable assistance to the editor as complete as possible.

I am, Sir, obediently yours,

Jan. 19, 1872.

E. STEVENS.

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION AN OLD IDEA.

To the Editor of the Nonconformist.

SIR,—It may interest some of your readers to know that Henry IV. of France in 1605 endeavoured to carry out the idea which Mr. Richard hopes to give effect to. Writes Lavallée (vol. 3, p. 38):—"His (Henry IV.'s) plans, imprinted with the brilliant idea that the time for feudal governments was passed, had as their end and aim the complete reorganisation of Europe in a sense altogether modern. Instead of that union based on the Catholic faith which the House of Austria wished to establish, and which would have made Europe stationary under one Power, Henry aimed at forming a confederation of all Christian States, a confederation wholly political, which should take no account of differences of creeds and of institutions, but should place all States, great or small, on a footing of equality. In accordance with these plans, Christendom would have formed one body or confederate republic which would unite the three Christian communions, Roman Catholic, Lutheran, and Calvinist, and the three forms of government, hereditary and elective monarchy, and the republican. The Christian republic was to have a representative assembly to settle disputes between its members and to provide a stock of men and money to carry on war against the Turks and the Russians and to drive them out of Europe." I am aware that Mr. Richard would not agree to the last clause. He would probably improve it by omitting the words after "carry," and inserting "out the decrees of the assembly."

Earnestly must every true Christian wish Mr. Richard success in the arduous task (alas, that it should be so!) he has set himself. Earnestly, too, should every Christian minister, no matter of what denomination, assist Mr. Richard, for are we not ministers of the Gospel of peace?

I am, &c., &c.,

A. CHAPLIN.

UNIVERSITY OF LONDON.

The following are lists of the candidates who have passed the recent law examinations:—

FIRST LL.B. EXAMINATION.

PASS LIST.—First Division.—William Edmund Bunting Ball, private study; William Brace, B.A., private study; Pierce Egan, M.A., private study; William Fisher, private tuition; George Stegmann Gibb, Aberdeen University; George Heynes Radford, private study; William Summers, Owens College; John Gaskell Walker Sykes, University College.

Second Division.—Augustine Birrell, Trinity Hall, Cambridge; Isaac Spencer Cox, University College and private tuition; David FitzGerald, Downing College, Cambridge; James Forrest Fulton, B.B., private tuition; Henry Glaisyer, private study; Frederick Forester Gould, private study; William Henry Gover, private study; James Winterbottom Hamilton, private study; Henry Andrade Harben, B.A., University College; Charles William Hoskin, private tuition; Benjamin Lewis Mosely, private tuition; William Tomlinson Page, private study; Edward Parnell, private study; Francis Beverley Robertson, University College; John Greenwood Shipman, private study; Ernest Edward Waters, Owens College; Edward Albert Wurtzburg, B.A., private study and tuition.

SECOND LL.B. EXAMINATION.

PASS LIST.—First Division.—John Joseph Faulkner, private study; Arthur William Rooke, private study.

Second Division.—Henry William Atkinson, King's College; Samuel William Casserley, private study; Nicholas Hanhart, private study; Thomas Jesson, private study; William Patmore Slater, private study.

The Gallery of Apollo, in the Louvre, which was closed in August, 1870, has been reopened.

The Society of Antiquaries elected as a member, a few days ago, Mr. Shirley Brooks, editor of *Punch*.

Mr. Samuel Sharpe has, it is stated, presented the sum of 4,000*l.* to the University College towards the building fund, and Mr. J. Pemberton Heywood has given a donation of 1,000*l.* towards the same object.

A coloured orator in Ohio the other day demonstrated the liberality of his views, by exclaiming, "I pray I may live to see the day when the coloured man may forget his prejudices so far as to be willing to see the other race as his equals."

THE EDUCATION ACT.

SCHOOL BOARDS.

LIVERPOOL.

At the monthly meeting of the school board, the chairman (Mr. Bushell) moved that provision be at once made for the erection of schools for 6,000 children in the districts where the most urgent need exists, and that meanwhile temporary school provision be made by renting suitable premises. Mr. Yates thought that before they began to build they should ascertain whether the schools were required or not, as it might be that those districts in which schools were required were the most attended, and that in those very schools there was a vacancy and no demand. At present they did not appear to have taken any steps to ascertain how this was, but only how many children there were in a district, and how many schools there were. He begged to move as a rider to the resolution:—

That, before proceeding with the erection of any new schools, a circular be addressed to the managers of the several schools of the districts in which it was proposed to build new schools, inquiring as to the state of their schools, the number of children in each, and the vacancies at present existing.

His object was, before they began to build new schools, to ascertain whether those in existence were occupied or not. Mr. Stitt hoped the board would seriously consider the proposal of this rider before they acceded to it. After twelve months' most laborious consideration of the question, and putting into force every machinery that their ingenuity could devise, they had produced a book of statistics of so complete a character as to secure for it, at any rate, the commendation of the Education Department in December last. He reminded them what the result of the statistics was. After giving credit for all kinds of schools—efficient schools and non-efficient schools, inspected and non-inspected schools, schools in existence, schools projected, and schools that were about to become elementary, and having assumed that every one of these was full to its utmost capacity—there were in those seven districts 22,445 children for whom no accommodation was provided. Accommodation for 17,277 children more would in all probability have to be added to the 22,445 which they had themselves reported to be deficient, and the department showed this in their letter by reference to the inspection of their own inspector in 1869, which stated that whilst there was accommodation required in Liverpool for about 90,000 children at the rate of eight square feet per child, there was only accommodation for 39,861, so that deducting the children at poor-law, industrial, and reformatory schools, there was only accommodation for one-half of the children requiring schooling. He thought the present proposal of the smallest and most inadequate instalment of what he believed the board would have to do, but he was willing to accept it in the meantime, as he was anxious to see the beginning of the real work of the board, which was to provide a really national education by the provision of school board schools, under the control of the ratepayers. Mr. Yates having withdrawn his rider, the committee's recommendations were adopted. The district education committee recommended that the following rules as to the payment of school fees be substituted for the scale adopted on the 10th of July last, viz.:—

That where the average weekly income of the family amounts to 25*s.*, irrespective of rent, or, after deducting rent, to 2*s.* 6*d.* per head, no payment be made except under special order. That where the average weekly income, after the payment of rent, does not exceed 2*s.* 6*d.* per head, the whole amount be paid, except in cases which fall under the foregoing resolution.

This was agreed to.

Amongst the payments passed was 626*l.* 2*s.* 4*d.* to industrial schools, and 239*l.* 15*s.* as school fees for the last quarter to forty-eight schools. Mr. Pritchard asked that further details relative to school fees should be published, such as the character of the schools to which they were paid. Mr. Stitt, in the interests of the ratepayers, supported the proposal. Mr. Pooley said he objected altogether to a statement of the kind being made, because he objected to any distinction being made in regard to one denomination or another. He should like to sink the whole in the education of the poor children. The Chairman believed it would be contrary to the spirit of the Elementary Education Act if the board were to do that which was suggested by Mr. Pritchard. It was quite within his power to bring these figures before the board on these occasions, but he did hope that whenever it was done it would be borne in mind that the board drew no distinction whatever in the payment of school fees in the religion of any denomination whatever. The subject then dropped.

The Liverpool School Board, at a special meeting held on Monday, resolved, by a majority of four, to continue the grant of 1*s.* per head per week made to the Liverpool Industrial Schools by the corporation, and discontinued by the latter body on the formation of the school board. It was also decided to enter into agreement with the industrial schools to receive any children sent by the board—such agreement, however, to be subject to revision, and to be withdrawn or continued from year to year at the discretion of the board.

At Liverpool Police-court several persons were summoned by officials acting under the school board, for not sending their children to school after the usual warning. Fines of 2*s.* 6*d.* with costs were inflicted. In one case the solicitor to the board explained that the word "parent" mentioned in the Act of Parliament meant any person who

had the care of a child, whether in the capacity of guardian, relation, or otherwise.

CROYDON.—The board proposes to erect ten groups of schools, and to enforce the compulsory clause.

DOLGELLY.—The school board in this place has resolved by a majority of three that fees shall not be paid for children attending denominational schools.

SWANSEA.—At the meeting of this board on the 15th, it was resolved that application be made for a mandamus to compel the corporation to make and levy an additional rate, in furtherance of a precept for £400 sent in to the town council by the school board.

BRIGHTON.—At the meeting of this board on Tuesday the principal business transacted related to the transfer of schools. It was resolved to establish a certified industrial school, and endeavour to secure the co-operation of the prison authority for East Sussex. It appeared that four board schools would shortly be in full working order, and that 540 out of the 1,000 children they would accommodate would be entirely new scholars.

STALEYBRIDGE.—At the monthly meeting of the board, the clerk read the school officer's report respecting the attendance at school of children whose fees are paid by the board, which showed that in many cases the attendance was bad, while some had not attended at all. Mr. J. F. Cheetham asked if, in the case of children who did not attend school at all during the week, they would have to pay the week's fee. Mr. Stevenson said the school-masters informed him that if the child attended any part of a week the fee would be charged, but if a child did not attend at all there was no charge for that week. After a long consultation it was agreed that the officer should serve notices on the parents of such children.

MAISTON.—At the last meeting of this board, Mr. Roots proposed a motion, of which he had given notice, to the effect:—

That the parents to whom notices from the board were given stating that they must send their children to a school, should also be informed therein of the privilege the Education Act gives them of withdrawing their children during the time that religious instruction is being imparted, and that a list of the public elementary schools should be furnished on the notice.

Mr. Clifford thought they might confine themselves to giving an extract from the Act in the shape of the conscience clause. A long discussion followed, but it was ultimately agreed that the motion should be accepted by the board on condition that the information printed as proposed consist of the conscience clause.

NORWICH.—At a meeting of this board last week the bye-laws were considered. After a great deal of discussion, the Rev. A. C. Copeman moved, and Mr. Tillett seconded the following:—"That the consideration of the question of exercising the power of paying or remitting fees in the case of children of poor parents (as by Clauses 17 and 25 of the Act) be deferred until circumstances bring it up for the determination of the board." Mr. Bunting expressed his concurrence in the remarks Mr. Tillett had made, and was glad that they would abstain from a denominational discussion on this matter. The fact that where there had been a lavish payment of fees had resulted in a small attendance of children, would be some guide to this board. The motion proposed by Mr. Copeman was then agreed to, and after the bye-laws had been adopted as a whole, the board adjourned. The *Norfolk News* says:—"The difficulties in the way of paying fees in such cases will then, we have no doubt, be made so apparent that we shall hear no more of this grievance. The Church party on the board have adopted a policy at once considerate and conciliatory, and it is satisfactory for us to know that one great obstacle to the pleasant working of the Act has thus been removed in this city."

NORTH WALSHAM.—It has been enacted by the North Walsham School Board:—"That the time during which every child attend school shall be the whole time for which the school shall be open for the instruction of children." "That in all schools provided by the board the Bible shall be read without note or comment, and that the school shall commence and close by singing a hymn and repeating the Lord's Prayer." And, "That no child be required to attend school: (a) If such child is under efficient instruction in some other manner. (b) If such child has been prevented from attending school by sickness or any unavoidable cause. (c) If there is no public elementary school which such child can attend within two miles, measured according to the nearest road, from the residence of such child." It was also carried that the board should remit the fees of poor parents' children, provided they attend the board schools, but that it should not pay fees if the children attended other schools.

GATESHEAD.—At the last meeting of the board a letter was read from the Education Department, enclosing the bye-laws which the board had sent up. The Department suggested an alteration in the wording of Clause 5, which related to the payment of fees in denominational schools. The chairman moved that the suggested alteration be adopted by the board: the alteration only affected the text of the clause. Mr. George Lucas said they would probably remember that at the time the bye-law was first proposed he expressed his dissent to the principle involved in it. He was not going to argue the matter now, but he wished to say that the more he saw of the working of the Education Act, the more he was convinced that the adoption of the 25th clause of the Act would perpetuate division in

school boards. He was sorry for this, but as he could not vote for the payment of fees for children educated in denominational schools, he must give his vote against the alteration proposed. Mr. Ald. Brown said he also could not vote for the payment of fees to denominational schools. The motion was carried.

ASHTON-UNDER-LYNE.—At the meeting of this board on the 10th it was reported that the total amount of school fees paid up to December 25 was 5s. 5d. The Rev. Dr. Kelly moved:—

That this board is prepared to receive contributions in support of a voluntary fund for the purpose of paying school fees for children whose parents are too poor to pay the same.

Without surrendering the principle, he was quite willing to save any appeal to the rates for the support of these children, and with this view he hoped the motion would commend itself to both sides of the house, if they had two sides. It would not in the slightest degree hinder the flow of private benevolence, and managers of schools could forego their claims as at present. It would meet a difficulty not met by any other plan. Mr. Hugh Mason moved an amendment:—

In consideration of the very trifling sum of 5s. 5d. being the amount reported to be the cost of educating children too poor to pay their own school fees, and also in consideration of the managers of nearly all the schools in the borough having decided to provide fees from their own resources, this board deem it to be quite unnecessary to promote officially a public subscription for such a purpose.

He did hope Mr. Kelly would have said he did not intend to go on with his motion. It was unnecessary for that board in their official capacity to initiate a public subscription for the purpose of paying 5s. 5d. It seemed to him puerile. The question was discussed at considerable length. The voting resulted in 2 for and 6 against the amendment, and 6 for and 2 against the motion.

NEWCASTLE.—The Newcastle-upon-Tyne School Board had a second discussion on Monday week on a motion made by Mr. Watson excluding from the bye-laws everything that sanctioned the payment of fees in denominational schools. The result was that the motion was lost, 5 voting for it and 7 against it. Upon this the chairman (Mr. Falconer) who had previously given notice of an amendment intended as a compromise, moved:—

That Bye-law 6 be withdrawn for the present, and that the board resolve that for twelve months from the passing of the bye-laws the remission or payment of fees in public elementary schools shall be made exceptionally, on proof of poverty, each case being dealt with on its own merits without prejudice to the principles involved on either side, it being understood that such remission or payment of fees is not considered as made in respect of any instruction in religious subjects.

He brought forward such a motion with a view to conciliation, and also because, by its adoption, it would neither compromise one side nor the other. He reminded the board that there were between four and five thousand children in the borough who were not attending school, and who ought to attend school, and further, he might say that there was accommodation existing for 4,852 children. That accommodation had not been utilised during the past twelve months at least, and he contended that the board had not done what the community were entitled to expect from their hands. He did not see any prospect of bettering their position for the future under existing circumstances, and therefore he thought that unless some compromise in course of action were adopted similar to the one he suggested, they would never utilise the accommodation that existed. There were 6 for and 6 against the motion, which was carried by the chairman's casting vote.

THE PROSECUTION FOR NON-PAYMENT OF A SCHOOL-RATE.—The following is a copy of a resolution passed at a meeting of the executive committee of the Wolverhampton United Nonconformist Committee:—"That this committee desires to tender to Harvey Adams, Esq., of Fenton, its warmest thanks for the decided stand he has taken in resisting the payment of the school-rate, knowing that a portion of it would be applied for the purposes of sectarian religious teaching, and commends his conduct as an example for their fellow Nonconformists throughout the country.—On behalf of the committee, W. M. FULLER, Hon. Sec."

COMPULSORY SCHOOL BOARDS.—The Education Department are beginning to exercise their powers in the formation of school boards independently of and in spite of local authorities and ratepayers. The Department have ordered the election of a school board at Rushall, Staffordshire, though it is not yet a month since the ratepayers of that parish, in public meeting assembled, resolved by a large majority that it was not expedient to apply for authority to elect a board. Another instance is the case of Romford, in Essex, where a similar vote of the ratepayers is on record. So far as we remember these are the only examples at present of the issue of an order to the returning officer to proceed to the election of a school board in the teeth of an adverse vote of the parishioners. These orders of the department are issued under Clause 12 (Sec. 2) of the Act. They cannot be issued in this summary manner, however great the need for further school accommodation in a district, unless there is an elementary school in the district which is about to be closed for want of support.—*School Board Chronicle.*

BOARDS WHICH HAVE REFUSED TO PAY FEES.—Of the bye-laws which have up to the present been sanctioned by Her Majesty in Council, those of the following school boards do not include any provision for the payment of the fees of indigent children in denominational schools:—Allerton, Yorkshire; Bersham, Denbighshire; Chigwell, Essex; Chip-ping Wycombe, Buckinghamshire; Crowle, Lincolnshire; East Looe, Cornwall; Hope, Flintshire; Illogan, Cornwall; Llanbeblig, Llanrug, Carnarvon-

shire; Portsmouth; St. Austell, Cornwall; South Shields; Southampton; Walsall; West Bromwich. There are several other codes in the same category waiting approval, in some of which the boards have attempted to deal with the knotty point contained in Section 25 in a manner that it is not likely to meet with the sanction of the department.—*Ibid.*

THE NEW PROGRAMME OF THE NATIONAL EDUCATION LEAGUE.

A meeting of the Executive Committee of this body was held at the offices, Ann-street, Birmingham, on Thursday, Mr. Joseph Chamberlain in the chair. Several reports from the officers and committees were presented, and resolutions were adopted urging the branches to petition in favour of Mr. Dixon's resolutions, to be proposed early in the session. It was reported that in many parts of the country strong representations had been made to members of Parliament upon the subject. In accordance with requests from leading members of the League, the executive took into consideration the position of the education question as affected by the working of the Education Act, the increase of building grants for denominational schools, the increase of the annual grant, and the demands of the Irish Roman Catholic prelates for a sectarian system of education. After mature consideration, the following recommendations were adopted by the executive committee as indicating the manner in which the principles of the League are applicable to the circumstances thus created:—

1. The compulsory election of school boards in all districts.
2. No schools to be recognised as public elementary schools but those under the control of elected school boards.
3. Existing school buildings to be placed by consent under the control of such boards for use during the hours of secular instruction, to be given under the direction of school boards. The buildings to be retained for all other purposes by the denominations with which they are connected.
4. Any school in which such control is declined, to be excluded from participation in the annual Government grant.
5. In all schools provided by school boards out of local rates, periods entirely separate and distinct from the time allotted to ordinary school teaching may be set apart for instruction in religion on week-days, such religious instruction to be given by denominations at their own cost, and by their own teachers appointed for that purpose, but no privilege to be given to one denomination over another. In cases of dispute appeal to be made to the Education Department.

A great meeting was held on Monday evening at Hengler's Circus, Hull, in connection with the Hull Branch of the National Education League. Alderman Lumsden was in the chair. The Rev. S. Tatham moved a resolution, which, in effect, stated that the present Elementary Education Act failed to secure a general election of school boards in towns and rural districts; that it enabled school boards to pay fees levied out of the rates to denominational schools over which the ratepayers had no control; that it enabled school boards to use the money of the ratepayers for the purpose of imparting dogmatic religion in the schools established by the boards; and that the Act provoked religious discord. The resolution further stated that in the opinion of the meeting Mr. Dixon's motion was worthy of their most earnest support, and that the representatives in Parliament for the district be requested to support it. Mr. George Raven seconded the motion, which was supported by Mr. Dixon, M.P. He reviewed the history of the Education Bill, and narrated the contention of the unsectarian party. The Education Act of 1870 in agricultural districts had been entirely inoperative. Outside the large towns the education of the children of the working classes was in the hands of the Church of England and the Church of Rome. The motion was carried with enthusiasm.

Court, Official, and Personal News.

THE PRINCE OF WALES.

The convalescence of the prince, it is stated, continues to progress in a most satisfactory manner. The staff of professional attendants is still further reduced, only one of the nurses remaining. Dr. Lowe continues his visits to Sandringham, but there is no longer need of a resident physician or surgeon. Dr. Gull arrived at Sandringham on Saturday afternoon and remained over Sunday night, in order to ascertain personally the exact details of the prince's condition. Her Majesty will, it is expected, shortly revisit Sandringham.

At a meeting of the Privy Council on Thursday, a special form of prayer and thanksgiving for the recovery of the Prince of Wales was prepared for use in all places of worship of the Established Church last Sunday. The following is the form, which the *Times* characterises as "rather cumbrous and involved":—

Almighty and ever-living God, Maker of mankind, who dost correct those whom Thou dost love, and in the midst of judgment dost remember mercy, we thank Thee for Thy great goodness in preserving the life of Thy servant, Albert Edward, Prince of Wales, lately visited with grievous sickness. O Thou who hearest prayer, we have turned to Thee in our distress as one united family; we thank Thee, that, in answer to the supplications of this people, Thou hast blessed the skill and watchful care with which Thy servant was tended

in his weakness; and that Thou hast thus spared Victoria, our Queen, the Princess of Wales and her young children, with all the royal family, and this whole nation, from the great calamity which for many anxious days they dreaded. Speedily restore Thy servant, we beseech Thee, to perfect bodily health and strength; let his soul be washed from all spot of sin in the precious blood of Christ, and give him daily more and more of the aid of Thy Holy Spirit. Enable him to serve Thee faithfully in the high station to which Thou hast called him, so that, in his person, in his family, and in all his public duties, he may, for years to come, be a help and blessing to many. Teach him and all of us ever to remember how uncertain our life on earth is, and how great are the issues that hang on the rightful use of it, so that both he and we may daily show forth our thankfulness for Thy late mercies by consistent Christian lives. Grant to him, we beseech Thee, to dwell for many happy years amid a prosperous, loyal, and contented people, and when at last death comes, take him safely to Thy glorious presence, through Jesus Christ our Saviour. Amen.

On Sunday, the metropolitan places of worship were, for the most part, it is stated, filled by attentive congregations, notwithstanding the damp and ungenial weather, and in many cases special sermons were preached. At Surrey Chapel, as is usual, the special form of thanksgiving was introduced, and the Rev. Newman Hall preached from Hebrews 6, xii., an argumentative sermon, in continuation of the previous Sunday's discourse, upon the duties of faith and patience, but no allusion was made to the calamity with which the nation was so recently threatened. At the Metropolitan Tabernacle, the form of prayer sanctioned by the Archbishop was, of course, not used, but in his prayer in the morning Mr. Spurgeon joined in the national thanksgiving that God had heard the prayer of the mother and of the nation, and had spared the life of the Heir to the Throne, and that the nation had been spared the evils that might have resulted from the death of the prince. There was no allusion to the subject in the sermon. At Bloomsbury Chapel there was nothing unusual beyond a special reference to the prince's recovery by the pastor, the Rev. Dr. Brock. The *Daily News* reports the passage, and we quote it, in case any of our curious readers should desire to compare this informal and spontaneous utterance with the authorised State prayer:—

Hear us, we beseech Thee, O Lord God, as we renew what we have offered to Thee before, our praise and thanksgiving for having, through Thy goodly wisdom and mercy, averted a calamity we were dreading, and preserved to us the Heir-Apparent to the Throne of our nation. We especially rejoice to-day, in common with the rest of our fellow-countrymen, at the manner in which Thou hast vouchsafed to us this great mercy. We rejoice that Thou hast blessed us with the eminent men by the agency of whose attention, sagacity, and skill Thou hast removed this trouble from us. To Thy fatherly goodness do we owe the success of their assiduous professional efforts, and we rejoice that it has pleased Thee, O God, to direct the sympathy of the people to Her Majesty the Queen, and to thus strengthen her in heart and mind, and with her and with the prince, her son, and his wife, we would now join in fellowship in returning thanks to the throne of Thy heavenly grace for Thy late mercy vouchsafed unto us. May all their future life offer a spectacle to the nations of the earth, and may the life thus saved be henceforth devoted to the service of the Heavenly Power by whom it was preserved. We earnestly pray that may be the result of this affliction, and that, with us, posterity shall take cognisance of Thy great mercy now shown unto us.

There was a numerous congregation at Sandringham Church on Sunday morning. The Princess of Wales was present, attended by the Hon. Mrs. Grey, Sir William Knollys, Colonel Teesdale, Mr. Francis Knollys, Mr. Holzman, and Dr. Gull. The service was performed by the Rev. W. Lake Onslow. The prayers of the congregation for the continued recovery of the Prince of Wales were asked in the Litany, and the Archbishop of Canterbury's form of prayer for the day was impressively read and responded to. The sermon was preached by the rector from Psalm cxvi. 7th verse:—"Return unto thy rest, O my soul; for the Lord hath dealt bountifully with thee."

It is stated that the thanksgiving service for the recovery of the Prince of Wales, which is to be held in St. Paul's on an early day after Feb. 20, will be rendered as grand and imposing as the occasion demands. The service is to take place under the dome, and seats will be provided for Her Majesty, the royal family, the members of the Legislature, the City authorities, and other distinguished persons. It is added that the mayors of the principal towns in the United Kingdom are to be invited.

The Queen attended Divine service at Whippingham Church on Sunday. The Rev. G. Prothero preached the sermon, and the special form of thanksgiving was used.

On Monday afternoon week the general body of Protestant Dissenting ministers of the Three Denominations (Baptists, Independents, and Presbyterians) met at the London Missionary Society's house, Blomfield-street, and unanimously agreed to an address of congratulation to Her Majesty on the recovery of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales. The Rev. C. Stovel presided, and the Rev. Dr. Halley, of Tottenham Baptist Chapel, and the Rev. R. Wallace, moved and seconded the adoption of the address.

Her Majesty, according to present arrangements, will return to Windsor on Saturday, the 3rd of February. The Queen will return to Osborne to pass the anniversary of her wedding day, the 10th of February, as it has been her custom for many years.

It is announced in the *Morning Post* that the approaching session of Parliament will be opened by the Queen in person.

A Cabinet Council was held on Monday in Downing-street, at which all the Ministers were present, except the Marquis of Hartington.

The *Observer* believes that no decision was arrived at in the Cabinet Council held on Friday last with reference to the course to be pursued by the Government in the event of the attention of Parliament being called to Sir Robert Collier's appointment. The whole correspondence relating to the affair will be laid before the Cabinet at their next meeting, and a final resolution will then, it is understood, be adopted.

Mr. Disraeli will address public meetings in Lancashire during the Easter recess. Meetings will be held at Liverpool, and probably at Preston.

The Regius Professorship of Physic at Cambridge University, vacant by the resignation of Dr. Bond, has been accepted by Dr. Paget, brother of Sir James Paget, Bart.

Mr. Mundella is prevented, by an inflammatory attack of the throat and chest, from addressing a meeting in Glasgow.

Mr. C. P. Villiers, M.P., who was to have addressed his constituents at Wolverhampton this evening, will be prevented from doing so through indisposition.

Epitome of News.

The directors of the Freemasons' Tavern Company have declined to permit the holding of the Dilke demonstration in their hall.

It is stated that, in consequence of insuperable difficulties, all idea of an amalgamation of the Caledonian with the North British Railway has been abandoned.

The Worcestershire Chamber of Agriculture has passed a resolution in favour of a moderate and equitable system of tenant right. Sir John Pakington spoke in favour of the resolution.

During the prevalence of a dense fog on Saturday night two railway accidents occurred at Newark, but although several passengers were shaken and bruised, there was no loss of life.

The Great Northern Railway servants have agreed to the concessions recently made by the direction, and have passed a resolution of thanks to the board.

At the next meeting of the Kidderminster Town Council a motion will be made proposing that some memorial be erected to the memory of Richard Baxter.

At a meeting at the Mansion House on Monday, the Lord Mayor presiding, it was resolved to use all legal means to defeat the scheme for converting the Exhibition of 1872 into a gigantic bazaar.

An order has been issued to the troops at Woolwich, which has caused a good deal of discontent. The soldiers are not in future to be allowed to wear their overcoats when off duty.

At Friday's meeting of the Metropolitan Board of Works it was resolved to negotiate with the Government for the acquisition of the land in the neighbourhood of Victoria Park offered for sale by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, at a sum not exceeding 24,500*l*.

An explosion occurred at the Gladstone Cartridge Factory, East Greenwich, on Thursday, by which the foreman of the works was killed and thirty girls were injured. Several of the latter are so shockingly burned that it is feared they will not recover.

The Anglo-American Telegraph Company have notified that the decrease of insulation in the cables reported on the 10th inst. has been found to be in the land portion of the cables upon the Irish side, and that the faults can, in consequence, be repaired without difficulty and at a moderate expense.

The *Scotsman* understands that, immediately after the opening of Parliament, Mr. Bruce will lay on the table of the House of Commons the bill which he has based upon the report of the Contagious Diseases Commissioners. The first clause of the Bill will repeal all existing legislation on the subject.

Yesterday the great Tichborne case entered upon the seventy-seventh day of hearing. Day by day during the week the Attorney-General has been continuing his speech for the defence, which is far from being concluded. Incidentally Sir J. T. Coleridge mentioned that the expenses of the suit would be at least 100,000*l*.

When the den of lions in Manders's menagerie was opened for public exhibition at Preston on Friday evening, one of the lions was found dead at the bottom of the cage. It had been stabbed more than once at the time of the accident to the lion-tamer McCarthy. Mortification of the wounded parts set in, and the death of the animal had been daily expected. It was a full-grown lion, seven years of age.

A respite has been forwarded to the Surrey county prison for staying the execution of John Selby Watson, with a view to a commutation of the capital sentence passed upon him to penal servitude for life. This course has been taken on the recommendation, concurred in by the Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench, of the learned judge before whom the prisoner was tried. Since his conviction the wretched man has not been visited by a single person. Messrs. Longman have written to the *Times* to say that, so far from having made a profit by the books of the convict, they are "under a loss of about 200*l*."

Postscript.

Wednesday, Jan. 24, 1872.

THE NONCONFORMIST CONFERENCE.

GREAT MEETING IN THE FREE TRADE HALL, MANCHESTER.

(By Telegraph.)

(From our own Correspondent.)

Long before the time for commencing the meeting the magnificent Free Trade Hall was crowded in every part, and large posters announced a supplemental meeting would be held in the Friends' Meeting House, Mount-street. Not only was every seat in the hall occupied, but every inch of standing ground. The platform was densely packed; there were present representatives of every part of the country. On the appearance of Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., the chairman of the meeting, he was received with a rapturous outburst of applause. After a few preliminaries, the chairman began with allusion to the postponement of the conference on account of the illness of the Prince of Wales, and to the known loyalty of Nonconformists. His address was full of telling points, moderate, wise, yet thorough and decided. It was very soon evident, from the echo of the meeting, that the thousands represented at the Manchester Conference had made up their mind on the education question. Mr. Chamberlain followed with a careful, popular speech; the first resolution was seconded by the Rev. A. Hannay, secretary of the Congregational Union, in a speech that began in nervous trembling, but soon developed into immense power. His declaration, that if they had to choose between Liberal measures at the hands of a Tory Government, assisted by independent Liberals, and Conservative measures passed by a professedly Liberal Government by the aid of Tory votes, the Nonconformists would never forsake their principles, completely brought down the house. Mr. Jacob Bright carefully pointed out the good points of the Education Act, and then its great defects. This deliverance was simply judicial in the calmness of its tone. Then followed the Rev. Dr. Landels, Baptist minister, of Regent's-park College. Dr. Mellor next came forward with a most earnest appeal to the Nonconformists of the country in favour of a purely secular national education, and his was perhaps the most powerful speech of the night. The large Friends' Meeting House was occupied by an enthusiastic audience, and was well sustained, so far as speaking power was concerned; a detachment of some of the ablest men being among these—the Rev. Mr. Crosskey, of Birmingham, and the Rev. R. Chew, of Sunderland. Our impression of the opening of the campaign is that it is magnificent. We have now ceased to doubt as to what the Nonconformists will say or do: they mean to have combined, secured, and separate religious instruction.

The proceedings in connection with the Nonconformist Conference, the sittings of which will commence to-day (says the *Manchester Examiner and Times*, to which we are mainly indebted for the subjoined report), were opened last evening by a great demonstration in the Free Trade Hall. The meeting began exceptionally early, but at six o'clock, half an hour before the advertised time for opening the proceedings, the hall was crowded to overflowing, and many who came provided with tickets were unable even to obtain admission to the room. All the passages were filled with gentlemen, who, unable to obtain seats, made shift with standing-room. Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., took the chair, and the platform was packed to the edge with leading Nonconformists, among whom the ministerial element largely prevailed. Among those who supported the chair were Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P., Mr. Alfred Illingworth, M.P., Mr. E. M. Richards, M.P., Sir Jas. Watts, Revs. Dr. M'Kerrow, Dr. Mellor (Halifax), A. M'Laren, R. W. Dale, and H. W. Crosskey (Birmingham), S. Pearson (Liverpool), A. Thomson, Brooke Herford, S. A. Steinthal, Dr. Russell, Dr. Allon, Dr. Raleigh, Dr. Landels, J. G. Rogers, A. Hannay, C. Stovel, P. W. Clayden, and Llewellyn Bevan, London; and Messrs. Richard Johnson, Thomas Heywood, Hugh Mason, Joseph Thompson, James Boyd, A. Spicer, W. H. Willans, James Heywood, R. Sinclair (London), W. Middlemore, Timothy Kenrick, J. S. Wright, Joseph Chamberlain, W. Morgan, F. Schnadhorst, H. Adams (Birmingham); J. J. Stitt, W. Crossfield, T. Snape, W. J. Lempfert (Liverpool); James Heywood, Abram Haworth, Benjamin Armitage, Ivie McKie, Henry Lee, Geo. Hope, Fenton Barnes, and others from all parts of the country.

The Chairman and his supporters were loudly cheered on taking their places on the platform.

The following gentlemen had written letters apologising for absence, and expressing sympathy with the movement:—Mr. Duncan M'Laren, M.P., Edinburgh; Mr. John Candlish, M.P., Sunderland; Mr. G. Osborne Morgan, M.P.; Mr. Charles Gilpin, M.P., London; and the Hon. Auberon Herbert, M.P., Nottingham.

The Rev. ALEX. THOMSON, one of the hon. secretaries, read some few letters. Mr. E. A. Leatham, M.P., wrote:—

In the presence of a Government so active in legislation, it is essential that Nonconformists should be thoroughly on the alert; otherwise irreparable damage may be done to our cause almost before we are aware. By our cause I mean that of absolute religious equality. Keeping this end constantly before our eyes, we must take care, if possible, to prevent all legislation which may have the effect of imperiling or retarding its accomplishment. I am convinced that the power of Nonconformists in the Liberal party, if vigorously exerted, is paramount. No Liberal Government will seriously array themselves against it. We have only to show ourselves wide awake, and to stand firm, and we must command the situation.

Mr. G. O. Trevelyan, M.P., wrote:—

A Churchman myself, I have long been unable to understand how a Nonconformist could conscientiously vote for a representative who was unwilling to disconnect religion from the fetters of State control, and the ignoring of State support.

Mr. J. Miller, M.P., dating from Edinburgh, said:—

I very fully sympathise in the object in view, and in evidence of that I may state that I was one of the sixty members who voted with Mr. Henry Richard on his motion on the English Education Bill. I am sorry to add that when our Scotch Education Bill was in Parliament in 1869 we got small aid from the English members, and when we wanted what is now sought for by English Nonconformists.

The CHAIRMAN, on taking his seat, said he had been requested to announce that, the hall being already filled to overflowing, the doors had been closed, and arrangements had been made for a supplementary meeting in the Friends' Meeting House, which would be addressed by a number of gentlemen whose names he announced.

The CHAIRMAN, who, on rising, was received with loud and continued cheering, said all present were no doubt aware that the series of meetings of which that was the first were intended to have been held about the middle of last month. But at that time a dark cloud was hanging over the royal family of this country, and by reflection and sympathy, over the whole nation. The gentlemen in Manchester who had charge of making the arrangements for the meetings and conferences, knowing the feelings of deep loyalty which had distinguished the Nonconformists—at all times, judged that it would not be in accordance with their wishes to meet together to discuss exciting political questions at a moment when not only that cloud existed, but when there was a daily possibility of its darkening into still deeper shadow. (Hear, hear.) Happily that danger has been averted—(applause)—and they, in common with the rest of their countrymen, cordially rejoiced that the life of the Heir to the Throne had been spared. (Loud cheers.) There was nothing better they could wish for the young prince, who had been brought back, as it were, from the verge of the grave, than that he should lead as useful and honourable a life as his distinguished father, Prince Albert—(loud cheers); and that when he came to the throne—which God grant might be at a distant time—(Hear, hear)—he might follow the example of his illustrious mother, of whom all men would acknowledge that she was one of the best Sovereigns that ever occupied a British or any other throne. (Loud applause.) And, without falling into the strain of fulsome and ferocious loyalty—(laughter)—in which some people had thought it right to indulge at this crisis, he believed that they, as Nonconformists, could with the utmost sincerity take upon themselves the burden of that spirited song by which his countryman, Mr. Brinley Richards, had so well interpreted the national sentiment, by saying, "God bless the Prince of Wales." (Cheers.) They were met that night, he supposed, ostensibly and avowedly as Nonconformists—(Hear, hear)—not, he hoped, to the exclusion of many Liberal Churchmen, who were at one with them in their principles and aims—(Hear, hear)—for it would be most ungrateful for them to forget or to neglect to acknowledge that among the members of the Church there were, and always had been, some of the most firm, faithful, and fearless advocates of religious liberty that could be found in any community whatever. Still, speaking in a broad and general sense, they were there as Nonconformists, and let the audacious truth be confessed, as political Nonconformists. (Cheers.) There were those who thought there ought to be no political Nonconformists, and some of their excellent friends of the Church of England were deeply concerned that they should imperil and damage their spiritual interests by touching anything so common and unclean as worldly politics. (Laughter.) They ought to be the more indebted to their brotherly charity that in the excess of their solicitude for (the Nonconformists') spiritual welfare, they seemed to have forgotten their own—(laughter and cheers)—for it was pretty well known that these critics were not themselves total abstainers on the question of politics; indeed, to some it would seem as though their whole system was drenched and saturated in politics. (Hear, hear.) There were others who were inclined to censure them because they met as Nonconformists, and not as Liberals. They charged them

with stirring up mutiny in the Liberal camp, with withdrawing themselves from their former associates. Did any man imagine that it was a pleasure to them to stand in a position of isolation, and still less of antagonism, to their old allies? It was not their fault. (Hear, hear.) They were isolated not because they had withdrawn from association, but because they had been forsaken. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) They contended that they, in common with the whole Liberal party, having been conducted by their leaders to an advanced position at the time of the conflict in respect to the Irish Church, and, having gallantly carried and occupied that position, their comrades had thought fit to beat a retreat, and had left them alone, exposed to the fire along the whole line of the enemy, and they were angry with them because they did not join with them in the retrograde movement—(a laugh); but he hoped that the Nonconformists were like that little drummer-boy who was captured by the French, and who, when he was asked to give a specimen of his skill by beating a retreat, said, "the British army never retreats." (Laughter and cheers.) And so he said that the Nonconformist army never retreated. (Hear, hear.) But the question now was what were they to do; what was the course they ought to pursue? He had anxiously sought light from all quarters to enable him to answer this question satisfactorily. He had not confined himself to the utterances of those with whom he was accustomed to be associated. He had watched carefully those great public instructors who were supposed to utter words of wisdom. Of course he had read carefully the *Times*. (Laughter and cheers.) The *Times*, as was its wont, had written very ably, and he might add very temperately, on both sides of the question—(laughter and cheers)—in respect to the questions with which they were at issue with the Government. He had looked into the pages of their jaunty friend, the *Daily Telegraph*, which told them that the provincial Dissenter—for he seemed to labour under the impression that Dissenters were confined to the provinces—(laughter)—were, to use his own flowery language, dowered with very little influence, and that the whole of the Nonconformist successionists might, if they liked, go home in a four-wheeled cab. He had listened to the sardonic oracle of the *Saturday Review*, but his utterances consisted mostly of sneers, that were a kind of commodity which could afford neither comfort nor guidance to anybody. (Laughter.) He had sat with as much meekness as he could command at the feet of the *Spectator*, which of late had been brandishing its pedagogic ferule over the Nonconformist millions of this country, in a half authoritative and half patronising way which made it rather offensive, if it were not altogether so amusing. (Laughter.) From the *Spectator* he learned that they were a presumptuous and impertinent lot, who, after having a struggle of nearly two centuries, been admitted to the enjoyment of some of the ordinary rights of British citizenship, ought, after the most unexampled generosity that had been shown to them, to be ashamed of themselves now to be, like *Oliver Twist*, "asking for more." (Laughter and cheers.) And it warned Nonconformists that if they were not more amenable to counsel, and more submissive to discipline—if they were not prepared to sacrifice their convictions and interests to the convenience of party—something very dreadful would befall them. Not the least dreadful part of their destiny would be that they would incur the lasting displeasure of the *Spectator* and its friends. (Laughter and cheers.) He had consulted, of course, their great volunteer censor—their guide, philosopher, and friend, Mr. Matthew Arnold—(laughter)—that rather tart apostle of sweetness and light. (Laughter.) Really, it was a little amusing to observe the manner in which Mr. Arnold administered his rebukes. He charged Nonconformists with want of meekness and lowliness—or, to use his own words, they "did not sufficiently cultivate and exemplify the lowliness and sweet reasonableness of Christ." But the spirit in which he said this reminded him of a story told by one of the inspectors of the Church of England schools in his report to the Committee of Council, in which he spoke of the insufficient and the altogether unsatisfactory character of the kind of religious education given in day-schools. He said, in a particular school, he asked that the children should sing some simple hymn. The schoolmistress responded to the suggestion, and, seizing her cane, shook it in the faces of her little flock in the gallery with an expression that must have made every individual hair on every individual child stand on end. In a voice as harsh as the old file in the fable was said to have been, she flung at them these words: "Now, sing 'Christ be merciful,' will you!" So Mr. Matthew Arnold, shaking his classical cane at the Nonconformists, says, "You narrow-minded, anti-national, bigoted, bitter, smug, vulgar, unfruitful, old and chronic provincial Nonconformist Philistines—(laughter)—now exemplify the lowliness and sweet reasonableness of Christ." Still Mr. Matthew Arnold had a plan of dealing with them. Defoe, rather more than a century ago, published a clever satirical pamphlet on the "Shortest Way with the Dissenters," in which he recommended their utter extermination. (Laughter.) So admirably did he preserve the tone of gravity and irony of which he was so great a master, that one most excellent clergyman declared that next to the old Bible and the sacred comments, this book was by far the most valuable piece in his library. (Laughter and cheers.) Mr. Matthew Arnold, to do him justice, had a plan,

which was not so severe as that of Defoe's, but which, if it could be carried into effect, would be quite as effectual. He also maintained that Nonconformists had no right to exist in this land; that the voluntary minister had no more right to open a chapel and preach the Gospel in any part of England than any individual would have to constitute himself a voluntary magistrate without the authority of the Lord Chancellor. But, instead of proposing to exterminate them, Mr. Arnold proposed that they should exterminate themselves. (Laughter.) From this source we did not get much effectual light and guidance. The Nonconformists were not willing to go out of existence even to avoid offending the Hellenic tastes of Mr. Matthew Arnold. They had done some good service to this country, and England would not now be a place so well worth living in and living for but for the existence and the sacrifices of the Nonconformists in the past. (Hear, hear.) Nonconformists had yet a work to do in connection with the development of the destinies of our country. (Hear, hear.) Well, then, what were we to do? Nothing but to fall back upon our principles and abide by them. (Cheers.) What were those principles? They were simply these—that the hand of the law must not be allowed to enter into the province of religion; that money extracted from the general taxation of the country, whether by imperial or local authority, could not safely or righteously be applied to the teaching of religion, whether in the church or in the school—(cheers)—that so far as the State interfered with the education of the people, it must confine itself to what it could properly do, without trespassing on any man's rights or offending any man's conscience; that was, giving a literary and scientific education and leaving the religious education where God had left it—to the care of the Christian Church. (Hear, hear.) He was more anxious than he could express that Nonconformists should take their stand broadly and firmly upon principles. ("Hear, hear," and cheers.) He was bound honestly to avow that Nonconformists were in a position of difficulty and embarrassment. This was partly owing to themselves; they had hesitated, and had given forth an uncertain sound; they had tried to traffic a little with their own consciences. He blamed no one for this. They were in a new position. Their own education was in process of development. The Education Bill was forced prematurely upon the country. (Hear, hear.) Their friends had gone a little astray, but with good motives, and yet—

The light that led astray was light from heaven.

But now that experience had revealed the tendency of the measure, they were left without excuse. These could not afford to give up their principles; they were the weapons with which they had conquered in past conflicts, and they would want them again. (Hear.) Those respectable friends who deprecated this agitation were offering them (soldiers on guard) a narcotic draught which would lull them to sleep, and then they would be spoiled of their arms. Therefore he said, "Dash the tempting cup from your lips." Some persons said they treated Mr. Forster unhandsofly. (Groans, and a voice, "He is a traitor.") He had watched Mr. Forster's course with respect and admiration, and painfully and unwillingly he had slowly been forced to the conviction that Mr. Forster had forgotten his old Radical and Nonconformist friends, and was betraying them—(Hear)—if not for the sake of conciliating the opposite party, for the sake of indulging his own ambition. They were, however, even now willing to give Mr. Forster an opportunity of redeeming his character. (Hear.) But if he was determined to place his back against the wall and to defy them, then there was nothing left for them but that the Nonconformists of England and Wales should guard their loins and try a fall with the Vice-President of the Council. (Cheers.) They had wrestled with and thrown stronger men. A greater statesman than Mr. Forster (Lord Russell) had said of Nonconformists:—"I know the Dissenters: they carried the Reform Bill; they carried the abolition of slavery; they carried free-trade; and they will carry this question." So he (the Chairman) said. He never saw the Nonconformists so united and earnest, and he would add to what Lord Russell had said, "They will carry the abolition or a serious amendment of this Education Act." (Loud cheers.)

Mr. JOSEPH CHAMBERLAIN moved the first resolution, which was as follows:—

That in the judgment of this meeting the time has come for the Nonconformist adherents of the Liberal cause to insist on a thorough and consistent application of the principle of religious equality in the public policy of the leaders of their party.

He said if that great meeting, including, as it did, representatives of the Liberal strength from every corner of the kingdom, carried this resolution with heartiness and unanimity, one of two things must happen—either the Government would be warned in time, and would retrace its steps, or the Liberal party would be broken up and reconstituted. (Hear.) They could not look this possible alternative in the face without a grave sense of responsibility.

It was not with a light heart that they engaged in such a warfare, nor could they contemplate without keen regret and pain the severance of ties which had existed for generations, and the disruption of an alliance to which this country chiefly owed all that it had obtained of civil and religious liberty. If they were animated—as their opponents sometimes charitably asserted—only by unworthy motives, and sectarian jealousies, and ignoble spite, then history would not fail to record its condemnation of their action and the deserved failure of their policy. But

if they were to believe that the great principles which were the basis of their political and religious life, which were the sources of their strength, and of their national freedom and welfare, were imperilled by the action of their once trusted leaders, then he should not have any fear of the consequence, nor should any dread of obloquy and abuse, prevent them from defending the interests which were entrusted to their charge; and the responsibility of the result would not rest on their heads, but upon those who were false to their professions and false to all the traditions of the party which they claimed to lead and to represent, but which they had sacrificed and betrayed. (Hear, hear.) He saw it everywhere asserted of Conservative members of Parliament—who, curiously enough, were the only party supporters of the Liberal Government in this matter—that their present action was unreasonable and factious. The charge was worse because it came from gentlemen who, by their exertions in opposition to the ballot and to army reform, must be admitted to be very good judges of what constituted factious opposition. (Laughter.) But, at all events, they could not say that the Nonconformists had been prone to this sort of thing. They must admit that it was a novel phase in their history. For years they had served the Liberal party. They had been hewers of wood and drawers of water. They had been very patient under some contemptuous toleration, very difficult to bear. (Hear, hear.) They had accepted meanwhile every act of justice as a favour, and every instalment of rights as a singular and unmerited grace. (Laughter.) Meanwhile, their intercessions had always been more powerful for others than for themselves. Represented as being animated only by sectarian and selfish motives, they had achieved the relief of the Jews from their disabilities, and the enforcement of the claims of their Roman Catholic fellow subjects for equal rights and justice. (Hear, hear.) They had always advocated social improvements, concessions to popular rights, the removal of class distinctions, and the cause of liberty and of freedom throughout the world; and they had postponed their special claims to consideration whenever the assertion of them appeared likely to hinder or delay an act of justice to their fellow-citizens, or measures which would contribute to their happiness. (Hear, hear.) So long as progress was sure, however slow it might be, so long as the faces of their leaders were turned towards the goal, however hesitating might be their advance, however poor might be their zeal, they patiently waited their pleasure or their convenience for the full fruition of their hopes. (Cheers.) But now when they might fairly expect an accelerated speed, when they might justly demand a large share of attention, suddenly the Liberal policy faltered, and the Liberal leaders hesitated; and, under the guidance of a man who boasted of his Puritan ancestors, and yet was indifferent to their principles, they saw themselves drifting back into the darkness when they thought they were emerging into light and perfect day. Concessions which were made to threats of Irish disaffection, which were wrung from the Government by the terrors of a priesthood which took its inspiration from foreign sources, was curtly refused to the English Nonconformist's loyalty. (Cheers.) Whilst Conservative support was angled for, and clerical opposition was bribed into silence with a great price, Nonconformists were told to take their support elsewhere by the leader of the Ministry which they had contributed mainly to bring into power. (Cheers.) This was the justification of the Nonconformist rebellion. (Laughter and cheers.) Slowly, they might be content to move, provided the progress was in advance; gradually, they might have been willing to obtain their just rights, provided that they always neared their attainment; but to go backward they absolutely refused. (Hear, hear.) Dissenters, he believed, would be induced by no considerations of party to be false to the trusts which were imposed upon them, to the interests and principles which they had to defend. (Cheers.) This meeting and the conference which opened on the morrow, was to answer Mr. Gladstone's challenge—(cheers)—a challenge very likely uttered in haste, and perhaps more likely repented of at leisure. (Laughter, and "Hear, hear.") But they were not such degenerate descendants of their ancestors; they were not yet so low in principle or poor in spirit as to refuse that test of their sincerity which they had been so ungenerously asked to produce. (Hear, hear.) They were met to advocate no intemperance in the work they were doing. On the contrary, they believed that this alliance, like another great alliance which had its centre in this city—(cheers)—was one of total abstinence. (Cheers.) Nonconformists must withdraw their support from Liberals at elections until they had learned the Liberal alphabet and could spell out the Liberal creed. Their opponents had set Nonconformists an example of organisation. The persons and the publicans had joined hand in hand at Plymouth, and again in the West Riding. Roman Catholics and Churchmen embraced—the lion lying down with the lamb in order to secure from school boards support to denominational education. The so-called national Church was fast becoming one vast political organisation for maintaining the supremacy of sect. The so-called national schools, built in part with Nonconformists' money, and mainly supported with the funds derived from national resources, were everywhere used as committee rooms at elections; they were everywhere becoming centres for the support of the power which had hitherto been prominent in its resistance to popular life. They could not win by these means, but only by sinking individual differences and uniting as one man to remove the last vestige of ecclesiastical supremacy. The question of payment of fees in denominational schools was a grievance which formed the last straw on the camel's back. Nonconformists were roused to this position, that they would not rest satisfied until every vestige of ecclesiastical supremacy had been swept away. (Cheers.)

The Rev. A. HANNAY, London (secretary of the Congregational Union), said he seconded the resolution with pleasure, though he was not able to say he did so with a light heart—

He would not, he was sure, be misunderstood in an assembly like that when he said that the political life of Nonconformists was but a phase of their religious life. (Hear, hear.) Besides, having never had anything to ask for themselves from the State, which was, he suspected, the common inspiration of the dictatorial tamper in political life. It was quite true they had had their grievances, and against these they had not been

so foolish as not to protest. (Hear, hear.) But when had they ever asked that any projected reform attaching to the civil rights or the social condition of people as a whole should be postponed until they should be placed on an equality in the eyes of the law with their fellow citizens of the State-Church? When did they ever make their great service to the Liberal party depend on their grievances being first abolished? They had ever been known as Liberals, and not as Nonconformists, working heart and soul with the Liberal party as a whole. He hoped they would not be driven to anything like a permanent organisation of Nonconformity for political ends. (Hear, hear.) They were not seeking anything narrow or sectarian, but they were seeking the interests of a free and united national life. (Hear.) They were simply attempting to protect the people from a policy which tended to perpetuate invidious distinctions among the people. (Hear.) Their contention was for a commonwealth, and not for Nonconformity. The spirit of modern legislation was with them. (Hear.) Timid and trimming politicians had allowed themselves to be carried by certain political busybodies who set themselves forward as representative men, and they might for a time give a different course to political events in this country. But the heaven was working in the political life of England more and more—the heaven of fairness, righteousness, and national life—which would baffle these conspirators. He had great love and admiration for Mr. Gladstone, and they were not yet in open rupture with him, but they were in relations of relaxed confidence. (Hear.) They admired Mr. Gladstone because he had introduced into his management of affairs a high-souled earnestness which had not always characterised the actions of English Prime Ministers. But they had not to do with William Ewart Gladstone. They had to do with the policy of the administration. They had to do specifically with its policy as manifested in the Elementary Education Act and other measures in reference to education. While one was willing to make allowance for the difficulties in which the Government was placed in framing an education bill—while he would even make special allowance in consideration of the unaccountable misleadings of the Nonconformist ranks at the time when this question was being discussed—one could not, after all, hesitate to say that the policy of Mr. Gladstone's Government in relation to the education of the people had been cruelly and stupidly wrong. (Hear, hear.) If they were unable to prevent Government founding a system of elementary education on a denominational basis in Great Britain, they had no right to ask them to found it on another basis in Ireland. (Hear, hear.) It seemed to him that the Government in pressing this matter of denominational education in England were making Cardinal Cullen the master of the situation in Ireland. (Cheers.) Cardinal Cullen said the other day that he had the sympathy of candid men of all parties in Great Britain. He (the speaker) did not hesitate to say that if they failed to beat the Government in its attempt to hand over the education of England and Scotland to the denominations, Cardinal Cullen had a right to the sympathy of all men in Great Britain. (Cheers.) The case of the Government in this matter he thought they might still speak of as a fact of to-day, because it was only the previous day that we heard from the Lord Advocate of Scotland that he was prepared to introduce a bill for that unhappy portion of Her Majesty's dominions from which he (Dr. Hannay) happened to come. What was that bill? Simply the old bill of 1869, more nakedly and shamelessly denominational than Mr. Forster's bill of 1870. (Cheers and laughter.) Mr. Forster made great effort to push that bill in 1869. They understood the reason. (Hear, hear.) It was to prepare the way for the English Elementary Education Act of 1870, and whatever their individual feelings in respect to Mr. Gladstone and his Government might be, if the Lord Advocate of Scotland should imitate Mr. Forster's tactics, and carry through his Education Bill by the help of Tory votes, then the alienation of the Nonconformists of England from Mr. Gladstone's Government would be complete and final. (Prolonged cheering.) "Have a care not to break up the Liberal party," it was said. Why, Government gave them only a choice of evils. (Cheers.) To have Mr. Disraeli in power passing Liberal measures by the help of official members of the Liberal party, or to have Mr. Gladstone and his party in power passing Conservative measures by the help of Tory acquiescence—(laughter)—if such results were to be the practical dilemma, there was no question which side they should choose. (Hear, hear.) Both were offensive to Nonconformists—(cheers)—and both were discreditable to England as a nation. (Cheers.) If it came to the issue that the Liberal party was broken up, who would be to blame?—that section of the party which kept by the Liberal standards, or that section of the party which had abandoned them? (Cheers.)

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT, M.P., who was received with great cheering, supported the resolution. He strongly commended those parts of the Education Act which gave power to local authorities to compel attendance at school. The application of the time-table conscience clause to all denominational schools was said by some to be of little value, but though children were subjected to disgraceful influences, where that was the case those who did it were breaking the law, and he was glad to have this advantage. (Hear.) Almost the most objectionable part of the bill was the cumulative vote, a plan by which in Manchester one person might pile up fifteen votes for one candidate, carrying the principle of representing minorities to the highest pitch. Again, he was not much in favour of school boards being elected for three years. No other electoral body in this country had this privilege. As for the 25th Clause, he would remove it. (Cheers.) Look at the character of the arguments by which it was defended. We were told in the first instance that the parents of indigent children should have a choice with regard to the schools where their fees were paid, and we were told in the second place that there were no board schools, or very few of them, and therefore that it was quite impossible only to remit the fees in those schools. It was all very well to tell us that parents might choose in places where there was a variety of schools, but in country districts,

where there was a Church school only, but where there were Dissenting and Roman Catholic labourers, they would have only "Hobson's choice." (Laughter.) Supposing, even in Manchester, that a certain denominational school was so crowded that there was no room, where was to be the choice of the indigent parent who might select that school? It was believed that with this increase of population the capacity of these denominational schools would be outrun. Let nobody suppose that this country had arrived at its maximum population. Why, then, should there not be board schools wherever boards were established? With regard to the education to be given in board schools, the Nonconformists ought to start from an unassailable position, and they could not have it short of taking their stand upon what is commonly called secular education. (Loud and continued applause.) What was termed unsectarian education might be, and probably was, as offensive to the Roman Catholic, the Jew, and many classes of persons, as the teaching of the Catechism was to those assembled in that room. People were too readily frightened with the question—"Would you have a clause excluding the Bible from the schools?" No, he would not. But one had enacted already that the servants of the Government, the inspectors, should confine themselves to the secular teaching, and he could go only one step farther, and make it imperative that the servant of the ratepayers, the school teacher, should also confine himself to that. (Cheers.) Let Parliament give authority to a school board to arrange with the ministers, or anybody else who wished to teach religion during the religious hour. The Nonconformists might be freed from the taunt that they would do anything to discredit the Bible. (Loud cheers.)

The Rev. Dr. LANDELS supported the motion, and it was carried unanimously.

The Rev. Dr. ENOCH MELLOR, of Halifax, in an eloquent speech, moved that the system of subsidising religious denominations in the business of public education, which has unhappily been favoured and strengthened by the present Government, is deserving of condemnation as being unwise in principle, unfair in its workings, and injurious in its effects to the interests of the nation.

The Rev. Dr. RALEIGH (London) seconded the resolution. Owing to the lateness of the hour at which he was called upon, and the number of persons compelled to leave the meeting, his remarks were extremely brief.

Mr. ILLINGWORTH, M.P., supported the resolution. He said that if the Nonconformists were vindictive men they might well say that they had had that night their revenge on the House of Commons. They found a small party who sought to show the Government the danger which was ahead. Heedlessly Mr. Forster and his allies went on, and now they found the whole of the Nonconformists of this country in open rebellion. He hoped that the Nonconformists were not looking forward to join issue finally with the Government on the Irish Education Bill. He would rather be associated with atheists in securing an act of justice than be joined with the bigots in refusing to the Roman Catholics their rights. Therefore, he wished the Government to understand that their declaration of policy would be taken upon the Scotch measure, and not upon any Irish bill, and that really the Nonconformists of this country would carry out the threat which they had been obliged to utter, and that if the Government offered to Scotland a denominational bill the Nonconformists would then have lost all faith in them, and dissolution was the inevitable fate of the Liberal party. He could only suggest one thing that would save them, and that was that when the Scotch bill was carried to the last stage in the House of Commons, and made evidently satisfactory to the most pious schoolman, this one clause should be added, "That this bill be applied also to Ireland," then even Scotchmen probably would repudiate their own measure. (Laughter.) He would be glad to abandon it altogether. We could not now be very far from a general election, and Nonconformists should take a well-defined position. They had gone with the Liberal party as long as the grievances dealt with fell upon the whole party, but most of these were now removed. The modest request now made was that the party they had acted with so long should go with the Nonconformists for the removal of their special grievances. If this union and alliance and co-operation were declined, the Nonconformists could not help it. They had a duty to themselves, and he hoped they would perform it. (Cheers.)

The resolution was passed unanimously. The chair having been taken by Mr. Richards, M.P. for Cardiganshire, a vote of thanks to Mr. Henry Richard, M.P., for having presided, was moved by the Rev. R. W. DALE, seconded by the Rev. A. MACLAREN, of Manchester, and passed with acclamation.

THE DUNDEE INFIRMARY.—Sir David Baxter, of Kilmarnock, offered to the directors of the Dundee Infirmary a few weeks ago to build a convalescent hospital for from fifty to sixty inmates, at a cost of from 6,000*l.* to 8,000*l.* He also promised to give the sum of 10,000*l.*, provided an equal amount were given by others, for its endowment. Sir David has now written to the chairman of the infirmary, intimating that the other 10,000*l.* has been subscribed by his private friends, and that Messrs. Shiell and Small are preparing the deed of constitution.—*Scotman*.

TO ADVERTISERS.

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We shall be much obliged, and it will be a great convenience, if friends whose subscriptions have expired and who have not yet sent to us, will be good enough to remit as usual to the Publisher, without further private notice than has already been forwarded.

THE MANCHESTER CONFERENCE.

With a view to furnish a full and complete report, and a special sketch, of the Nonconformist Conference at Manchester, we shall give a gratis Supplement next week.

We shall be obliged if orders for extra copies of the number (Wednesday, Jan. 31) are sent early to the publisher. The paper will be forwarded on the receipt of five postage-stamps.

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

"The Turberville Fund." Received from Messrs. R. K. Burt and Co., 2s. 2d.

"F. H." Leicester. Thanks. He will see how impossible it has been to make use of his communication in our present number.

Our number for Jan. 5 is out of print, but the Supplement on the Condition of the Rural Districts will be sent separately, on the receipt of two postage-stamps.

* With our present issue we have given the Title-page and Index for last year's volume of the *Nonconformist*. To those of our subscribers who may not receive it, we shall be happy to forward it on application.

BIRTHS, MARRIAGES, AND DEATHS.—In future a uniform charge of one shilling (prepaid) will be made for announcements under this heading. All such announcements must be authenticated by the name and address of the sender. Postage-stamps may be sent in payment.

The Nonconformist.

WEDNESDAY, JANUARY 24, 1872.

SUMMARY.

THE convalescence of the Prince of Wales was marked on Sunday by a public thanksgiving in all the churches of the Establishment, in the shape of a form of prayer, not very creditable to the author, which was accepted and "ordered" for use by the Privy Council. There are, of course, millions of Her Majesty's loyal and sympathising subjects who deem it incongruous to approach the throne of Divine mercy through the medium of a Privy Council, but who have gladly, in their own fashion, joined in these expressions of gratitude. Soon after Parliament meets there is to be an imposing ceremonial at St. Paul's, whither Queen Victoria and the Royal Family, possibly the Heir Apparent himself, and the great bodies of the State, will assemble for the same purpose. The great cathedral already resounds with preparations for this public and unique event, and the Lord Chamberlain is obliged to deprecate the urgent demand for orders for admission which are thus early pouring in upon him.

The campaign at Manchester commenced yesterday with a Nonconformist demonstration in the Free Trade Hall, such as has been rarely witnessed, and which we have reported as fully as

was possible under the circumstances. There was obliged to be a supplementary meeting at the Friends' Meeting House. Both were crowded and enthusiastic. The chairman, Mr. Richard, M.P., sounded the key-note in a judicious and suggestive address, and it was reserved for Mr. Chamberlain, of Birmingham, a Churchman, to deal with the theme that "the time had come for the Nonconformist adherents of the Liberal cause to insist on a thorough and consistent application of the principles of religious equality in the public policy of the leaders of their party." The real spirit of the Assembly, at which some 1,500 of the delegates to this day's conference were present, was fully elicited when Dr. Mellor earnestly urged Dissenters to accept without reserve the principle of purely secular education. "We have now," says our correspondent, "ceased to doubt as to what the Nonconformists will say or do; they mean to have combined, secured, and separate religious instruction."

This decision has been materially hastened by the timely decision of the National Education League, whose modified programme will be found in another column. The League has done wisely in taking the lead; and we are much mistaken if the delegates of the Nonconformist Conference do not resolve to march under its banner, and give the League their combined and hearty support as the champion of the only safe and consistent solution of the educational problem. We have now got to firm, solid ground, and the prospect of a national system of education was never so bright. The actual situation, as the result of last night's demonstration and the tone of feeling among the delegates to the conference, is thus felicitously described by the special correspondent of the *Daily News*:—"The Act of 1870 hands over in great part the elementary schools of England to the Anglican and Roman Catholic clergy; the Roman Catholic prelates of Ireland naturally ask that, if this is done in England, it shall be done in Ireland; the Presbyterian clergy have got a sort of promise that it shall be done in Scotland. So the tone of this Conference promises to be, not anti-Roman Catholic, nor anti-Church of England, but anti-clerical. It is M. Gambetta's cry for lay supremacy in education which is being raised here in Manchester by the English Dissenters. They have been driven out of all their half-way houses. If Mr. Forster has not educated the children, he has educated the Dissenters; and now Cardinal Cullen has taken his whip in hand and driven them over in a body to secular education."

The *Edinburgh Review*, true to its Whig traditions and its rôle as a drag-chain upon the reform tendencies of the age, propounds a new policy for Her Majesty's Ministers. Mr. Gladstone is recommended in future to lean upon the Established clergy for support. The extracts given by a correspondent elsewhere from the new number of that Quarterly will be read with wondering curiosity. We hope they will not escape the attention of the Nonconformist Conference now sitting at Manchester. Dissenters have been erroneously accused of a desire to break up the Liberal party. The *Edinburgh* has forestalled them in their supposed intention, and gravely recommends Ministers to anticipate a disruption of the Liberal party by committing suicide! The Church will feel complimented by this incipient offer of a Whig alliance, though her traditional instincts must oblige her to fall back upon Toryism as her most reliable defender. It need hardly be said that the proposal of the *Edinburgh*, if seriously entertained, might lead to a reconstruction of political parties, which would make Lord Derby and his Liberal-Conservative allies for a time "masters of the situation"; though, as "A Liberal but not a Whig" remarks, it may also mean "that if the Church will not support the Liberal party, it will have to meet the inevitable fate of disestablishment."

The Committee of Deputies have done good service by eliciting from the Prime Minister a distinct and timely declaration of his views on the vexed question of Irish University Education. In a respectful and well-reasoned memorial, given at length in another column, they have pointed out the injustice and danger of succumbing to sectarian, that is, to Roman Catholic claims. Mr. Gladstone, in reply, assures the memorialists that their fears are groundless. "The rumour of an intention of Her Majesty's Government to endow a Roman Catholic university or college in Ireland," are declared to "have no foundation in fact." We could hardly expect the Premier in reply to the memorial of the Deputies to define the actual intentions of the Government on this question. But, till we hear otherwise, we may hope that Mr. Gladstone will eventually give effect to their view that "the University of Dublin is a national institution, and being national should be freely open to all classes of the people, and

should afford in mixed classes the advantage of association to students of all religious communions."

If space allowed, the incidents in connection with various school boards are open to comment. The indignant protests of Nonconformists have had the wholesome effect in many districts of greatly restricting the payment of fees in denominational schools; and in one or two cases, as in Newcastle, local boards have decided to suspend action in this direction, with a view to remove a hindrance to their proper work. In two instances, it will be seen, the Education Department, by virtue of the powers conferred by the Act, has overruled the decision of the ratepayers, and ordered the formation of school boards. Last week we reported the case of Mr. Harvey Adams, the sturdy Nonconformist of Fenton, who refused to pay a rate levied by the Stoke-on-Trent School Board for the purpose of subsidising denominational schools. A warrant of distress was issued, and was executed yesterday, when a weather-glass was seized from the recusant, which will be sold in order to enable Church schools to teach the Catechism to their little pupils. The merest effort would have enabled the Denominationalists, especially as they have an extra subsidy from the Parliamentary grants, to provide for such fees in their own schools, and thus avoid a great scandal. But they prefer to have their "pound of flesh." And we quite agree with the *Potteries Examiner* that—"Protests against the 25th Clause of the Act, such as Mr. Adams's, will have more effect in obtaining a repeal of the objectionable clauses than any other mode of opposition. It was by such sturdy action that the old Church-rates were rendered of no effect, and ultimately abolished."

On Monday the movement in favour of the adoption of "some form of international jurisdiction for the settlement of differences between States, by an appeal to reason and justice instead of the sword," was worthily inaugurated by a conference at Manchester, which not only cordially endorsed the proposed motion of the hon. member for Merthyr, but subscribed some 4,000l. towards the Fund of 10,000l. which is to be raised for the promotion of that object.

THE ULTRAMONTANE ULTIMATUM.

In the *Times* of Monday there appeared, from the Berlin correspondent of that journal, a very interesting and suggestive letter on the resignation of the Prussian Minister of Education and Religion. This resignation, as is well known to all who have taken any interest in the Prussian school system, has been for long impatiently, but vainly desired by all friends of liberal and progressive education. Acting on precisely the principle maintained by many good but mistaken men amongst ourselves, Herr von Müher obstinately resisted the separation between secular and dogmatic instruction, on the ground that such a course must produce a godless population, and end in the destruction of religion. The weariness and disgust, the spiritual apathy and scornful unbelief which have been produced by this unnatural attempt to pump religious influence through channels never fitted to convey it, might well be a warning to the friends of Christian education in England. But the point to which we would direct special attention is this, that a stolid persistency, which for ten years has resisted the eloquent arguments of rationalists and the ill-concealed discontent of schoolmasters, has collapsed at once when it undertook to maintain the recent pretensions of Ultramontane domination. Parents who favoured the "Old Catholic" party naturally objected to the compulsory attendance of their children on lessons given by "infallibilist" priests. And as all national feeling, to say nothing of governmental policy, supported this objection, a well-intentioned but stupid Minister, incapable of reading the signs of the times, had nothing for it but—if we may quote the forcible phraseology of Tammany Hall—to "drag his corpse out."

The open delight and exultation with which almost all school teachers, and the German Liberals generally, have hailed this resignation, is not due merely to sympathy with the "Old Catholic" party, whose traditions are hardly consonant with the Teutonic spirit; but rather to a confident anticipation that the check thus given to the late Ministerial policy in the schools is a step towards the complete emancipation of secular instruction from clerical influence. It is not so much because they take any strong interest in the questions between Old Catholics and Papists, but rather because they detest the general policy favoured by the late Minister, that the German Liberals are singing their psalms just now. And though the position taken by the advocates of exclusively secular

instruction for our English national schools would hardly be comprehensible to a German, certainly the desire for "confessionslose" or undenominational schools has received a great impulse through Von Müller's resignation.

The application of all this to our English educational discussions is, we hope, tolerably evident—

"Mutato nomine, de te
Fabula narratur."

The very moment of this obstinate Prussian Minister's downfall from such a cause is the time chosen by our Irish hierarchy for the assertion of Papal claims such as have never been heard in England since the days of that Mary, whose *sobriquet* we forbear to recall. At a meeting called, for the sake of special solemnity, in the Catholic Cathedral of Dublin, the cardinal archbishop, professing to represent in his own person the whole Catholic feeling of Ireland, demands, in consistency with the educational policy pursued in England and yet to be pursued in Scotland, that the instruction of the rising generation shall be handed over to the representatives of a decrepit foreign potentate. The Catholic Church teaches us, we are told, "that our great business on earth is to attend to our salvation. It proclaims with our Lord that it is our first duty to seek first the Kingdom of God and His justice." Catholic teaching, therefore, "cannot but repudiate the principle of unsectarianism, which ignores altogether the doctrines of faith or the practices of religion, or only gives them a very secondary position, or treats them as a mere work of supererogation." The ambassadors of the Pope therefore demand in the name of the Irish people, whose supreme earthly allegiance, as is implied, belongs to Rome, that the British tax-payer shall hand over to the Irish hierarchy the funds necessary to turn every school into a Papal chapel.

That such claims are in the least likely to be granted, it would of course be preposterous to suppose. It is not at all through any such fear that we think the meeting in the Dublin Cathedral worthy of serious attention. But anyone, who has had patience and endurance enough to study the reports of that meeting, must feel that it was calculated to rekindle by sectarian bitterness the hostility of race which wise legislation has done much to assuage. Nor do we see how it is possible to answer such demands by the decisive negative which is inevitable, without reconsidering and reconstructing the whole educational policy of the empire. In this view, we should look with hope rather than with fear to the hierarchical agitation recently inaugurated. But the passions to which appeal has been made are so fierce, and the material for combustion is so plentiful, that unless the change of imperial policy should be speedy and decided, we confess we tremble for the result.

It is in vain to say that the denominational system established in England and proposed for Scotland is already carried out in Ireland, with no more limitation than is imposed on Great Britain. For, to say nothing of the absence from the Scotch Bill of a time-table conscience clause, a defect which may probably be remedied, the systems adopted for England and Scotland have been avowedly such as are supposed to be prescribed by general popular feeling. Many a member of Parliament and more than one Minister, while confessing that separate religious and united secular instruction is ideally the best system, have at the same time declared that they bowed in this matter to the general feeling of the Christian public. And by whom has that feeling been manifested? Not by the working classes, whose children are to be taught in the schools, and who notoriously care only for the secular instruction that is given; not by the non-worshipping population, who to our shame be it spoken form at least one-half if not three-fourths of the people; not by the great body of the Nonconformists, whose influence in this question has been in abeyance, while they have vainly sought some expedient short of secularism, which might at once comfort their religious timidity and consistently carry out their political principles; but by the comparatively few representatives of sectarian benevolence, who, whatever their virtues, cannot be charged with wishing to hide them under a bushel. The well-known fact that the most objectionable features of the English Act were carried, not by the Ministerial majority, but by the representatives of reaction and ecclesiastical privilege, goes far to confirm our assertions. And farther, the time-table conscience clause which stamps all the less dominant sects as eccentric and heretical, together with the unmeaning restrictions of Section XIV., which leave scope for any amount of dogma in board schools, so long as no "catechism or formula" is used, were framed on no broad and generous recognition of religious equality, but simply and

entirely as a sop to the more wakeful watchdogs of the party of progress, or

"A tub thrown to a whale
To make the fish a fool."

There is no principle in limitations such as these, extorted from bigotry by fear; or at least the only principle involved is this, that in matters of religious feeling the apparent majority may rightly inflict on the minority just such an amount of wrong as is considered prudent or safe. Such a principle, or want of principle, applied consistently to Ireland, would certainly involve a compliance with all the monstrous claims put forth by Cardinal Cullen and his satellites. For as the Cardinal shows, there are large districts in Ireland where no Protestant children are to be found, at least such as would be likely to attend public elementary schools. On June 25, 1868, according to a census taken by order of the Royal Commission, only 484 Presbyterian children were found in all the schools of counties Dublin, Wicklow, and Kildare; while on the same day there were counted 39,077 Catholic children. "And," asks the cardinal, imitating the tone of those who in England have urged that the majority have consciences as well as the minority, "are we to be dictated to by so small a Presbyterian population?" The assertion is, in fact, that the conscientious demands of Roman Catholic religionists are not to be satisfied, like those of school-board religionists in England, by a system which really effects, while it professes to repudiate, the separation of sacred from secular instruction; but must have school houses sanctified by all the symbols, and instruction constantly pervaded by the direct influence, of their faith. It is in vain to tell them that the dominant sects in England, hampered by powerful rivals, are satisfied with less; for to them the reply is obviously open, that throughout the greater part of Ireland they are not thus hampered; that they constitute an overwhelming majority; that there is no principle but that of expediency in the English arrangement; and that a population which repudiates the expediency of such limitations in its own case, cannot justly be forced to adopt them.

In a word, if the grand policy of justice to Ireland is to be consistently carried out, it must be reinforced by the, if possible, grander policy of strict religious equality in the Imperial arrangements for national education. It matters not to say that the separation of secular from religious instruction would as little satisfy the Roman hierarchy as the present plan; for what we should gain would be the firm basis of one consistent principle, capable of universal application. We should render unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's; leaving it to every man, under the direction and with the assistance of his Church, to render unto God the homage which conscience dictates in the education of his children. Cardinals might rave and Popes might curse; but the maxim, "be just, and fear not," would be applicable in this as in every other political difficulty. An interested hierarchy would be abashed by a high policy of justice applied equally in every part of the realm, and to every section of Her Majesty's subjects. Bigotry, like a nettle, is soft as silk to the grasp of manly courage; but no national policy can be truly courageous save one that is founded upon equal principles of right. If Ultramontane insolence should compel the Governments of both Great Britain and Prussia to fall back upon a more righteous, and therefore more Christian, educational policy, the better day dawning upon these two great nations would brighten the future of the whole world.

PROSPECTS OF THE BALLOT BILL.

It is understood that one of the first measures which will be laid on the table of the House of Commons after the opening of the session is the Ballot Bill. No better proof of the good faith of the Government with respect to this vital measure of reform could be afforded. Last year the Lords, on the motion of Lord Shaftesbury, threw out the bill ostensibly on the ground that they were not allowed sufficient time to consider its details. It is clearly the design of Ministers that they shall not again have a similar pretext for rejecting a measure which the country has so emphatically and so persistently supported. If Mr. Forster profits by the experience of the last session, the passage of the bill through the Commons will be greatly expedited, and the Upper House will not be able to allege that, while they have a plethora of work on the eve of prorogation, the Government gives them next to nothing to do in the early part of the session. The thing most to be dreaded is that in order to conciliate the Opposition in both Houses, the measure will be shorn of some of those useful accessories which the nation values

quite as much as the privilege of secret voting. As the question of electoral purity has been debated for nearly forty years, it can no longer be pretended that the country does not know its mind, or that its opinion is not sufficiently mature for a complete scheme of legislation.

It is at this juncture—on the eve of a momentous session—that Mr. W. D. Christie, a friend and contemporary of Mr. Grote, and himself both a politician and a diplomatist of no mean repute, has republished a series of essays which pretty well exhaust the questions upon which Mr. Forster will invite Parliament to legislate. A man who published his cogent "Argument for the Ballot" in 1839, and who made a speech in the House of Commons in support of Mr. (afterwards Sir Henry) Ward's motion so long ago as 1842, is entitled to be heard upon this subject, especially when thirty years' subsequent experience has only deepened his earlier impressions and convinced him that those who, like himself, embraced the cause of the ballot in a past generation advocated the only principle which could effectually mitigate (for nothing, save a universal sentiment of public morality can entirely eradicate) the evils of corruption. We do not intend to reproduce the well-known arguments in favour of the ballot. We refer those who wish to familiarise themselves with the discussion *pro* and *con* to Mr. Christie's elaborate essay, in which he does a great deal more than refute Sydney Smith's humorous objections to the ballot-box. This part of the controversy is fairly exhausted. The principle is now triumphant, and the chief ground of dispute has reference to matters of detail—some of which, however, are almost as important as the central point which forms the pivot upon which all the other questions turn. But as not a few statesmen—notably the late Lord Palmerston—have denounced secret voting as though secrecy itself was a crime, a few of the remarks which Mr. Christie makes on this subject may, with advantage, be quoted:—"Secrecy," he says, "is not in itself bad. An action performed secretly is not necessarily a bad action. It so happens that men generally resort to secrecy when they perform bad actions; but the actions are bad, independently of the secrecy, and the hurt to the character arises, not from secrecy, but from the badness of the action. The objection evidently arises from an association formed in men's minds between secrecy and badness, owing to the number of bad actions performed secretly. But the association here leads to a mistake. Good actions may for particular reasons be performed secretly, and remain good actions still, or even their goodness may be enhanced." The force of this argument, properly applied, is irresistible; and for our part we greatly prefer Mr. Christie's calm, incisive logic to all the fun which the witty dean poked at Mr. Grote's ballot cards.

But Mr. Christie is not satisfied with secret voting alone, nor is he satisfied with Mr. Forster's bill, comprehensive as that measure undoubtedly was. He is anxious to see the leaders of the two great parties who pull the wires at the Reform and the Carlton, and also high-minded candidates of whatever party, concert measures for conducting elections with due regard to electoral purity; and he has made zealous efforts to bring about a healthy understanding between opposing statesmen and politicians to attain this most desirable object. But he is constrained to admit that, while influential adhesions to his scheme were not wanting, he received very little practical support. The truth is that the moral influence of even Mr. Gladstone or Mr. Disraeli can do next to nothing to curb the passions of unscrupulous men; and that, without the positive restraints of law, a contested election in an ordinary English county or borough would prove fatal to any number of fine promises or superfine pledges. Our party leaders can no more achieve the Herculean task of breaking down the organised corruption of our English constituencies than Mrs. Partington could mop back the waters of the Atlantic. Bribery and intimidation are crimes which take their root in human nature just as much as shoplifting or burglary; and it is therefore the duty of the law to protect society against them, and, if possible, to ensure their repression. We have been tinkering at this subject since 1842, when Lord John Russell passed his bill for dealing with corrupt practices. The mountain brought forth a mouse, and a mouse it has remained ever since, in spite of subsequent attempts to make the creature look formidable.

We have said that Mr. Christie does not regard Mr. Forster's bill with an absolute feeling of enthusiasm. He advocates the abolition of paid canvassing, a reform which Lord Harting-

ton's committee did not see its way to recommend, although Baron Martin strongly supported it, and the evidence in its favour is overwhelming. It is very generally believed that the Scottish constituencies are so unspotted as to put to shame and confusion the electoral bodies of this country. No doubt this is true as regards the grosser forms of corruption. "The man in the moon" is unknown on the northern side of the Tweed. But Mr. Christie shows that in Scotland bribery is simply disguised in the form of paid canvassing. It is the employment of paid canvassers which makes Scottish elections so expensive—indeed, Mr. Christie cites a case at the last election in which a candidate disbursed as much as two pounds a head for every vote he polled. If these statements be true—and we believe they can be verified by official documents—what possible excuse can there be for leaving the evil to fructify, and to bring forth more fruit of its kind? It cannot be doubted that those who have no other means of gratifying their base propensities will resort to those special forms of corruption which are permitted to flourish like poisonous vegetation in a half-drained lagoon.

Nor is this all. Mr. Christie wishes to see the use of public-houses for committee-rooms prohibited. Both on this point, and also as respects the closing of similar places on the days of nomination and polling, he is supported by the judges who gave evidence before Lord Hartington's Committee. Baron Martin says:—"I have a very strong opinion indeed that the public-houses ought to be closed on the day of polling, and the state in which many voters were alleged to have come up to vote was perfectly scandalous. They were so drunk in two or three cases that they did not know who they came to vote for." It is manifest that the power given to the election judge is wholly insufficient. They are of opinion that they ought to be empowered to unseat members for unreasonable expenditure; that there ought to be a more stringent prohibition of refreshments; and that in order to prevent collusion and to further the ends of justice, the public should be more directly represented in election inquiries. The ballot will enormously mitigate the evils both of bribery and intimidation. If it be assisted by other reforms equally stringent, and especially if the official expenses of elections are borne by the constituencies instead of being, as they now are, fastened on the candidates, we may hope to see the day when purity of election will be established throughout the three kingdoms. Whether that day dawns early or late depends in a great measure upon the thoroughness with which Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Forster grapple with the question in the ensuing session.

THE CRISIS IN FRANCE.

To employ an expressive French phrase, M. Thiers is again master of the situation. He has been restored to power after a defeat which, if not crushing, appeared to have been conclusive. The members of the Right, who are the declared supporters of the least constitutional form of monopoly, who are the partisans of ignorance in the form of priestly education at home, and of military glory in the form of an aggressive and high-handed policy abroad, have hitherto been the most firm supporters of M. Thiers, because they believed him to be a convenient stopgap, a willing tool, and a sham Republican. But they suddenly turned against the idol they professed to adore, and cast away the instrument with which they fancied they could dispense. To the surprise of superficial spectators of the game of intrigue and bluster which is being played at Versailles at the cost and to the serious injury of France, the declension of M. Thiers in the Assembly's favour took place with startling rapidity. Not much more than a week ago his long speech, in which he enunciated his protective policy, was hailed as the production of a master. Two or three days afterwards the same Assembly would hardly listen to its favourite orator, and gave vent to an expression of opinion which necessarily compelled M. Thiers to resign his task. No sooner, however, had the end been attained, than the desire to restore the past was unequivocally manifested. The Deputies crowded to M. Thiers to sue for pardon. They acted like children who, when taken to task for breaking a plaything, allege that they meant no harm, and were only anxious to see what was inside of it. Marshal MacMahon, arraying himself in full uniform, went to request M. Thiers to reconsider and recall his resignation, on the ground that, if he declined, the army would become so dissatisfied as to be unmanageable. This was a not unskilful appeal to the beset-

ting vanity of M. Thiers. He considers himself formed by Nature to command an army. His craze on this head resembles that of Liston and Keeley, who firmly believed that they were born to electrify audiences in the characters of Hamlet and Macbeth. Much, however, in the same way as the lady who vowed that she would never consent and then consented, M. Thiers first emphatically refused to do what the Deputies and Marshal MacMahon required of him, and then, on the request being reiterated more formally by the Assembly, resumed his old post, and undertook to continue to govern France as a special grace and favour. He made the implied condition that his resuming, or rather remaining in office, was contingent on his having his own way in the future. Optimists may now flatter themselves with the belief that the struggle is over and the coil unravelled; that henceforward M. Thiers will be the master and not the servant of the Assembly; and that the dread of a plunge into anarchy will force the contending factions to keep the peace, or, at least, to keep their tempers.

In summarising the events which have ended in the restoration of M. Thiers to his former position, we have not mentioned the subject which has been made the prominent question of debate. Though the Government has determined to impose duties on raw materials, and thus restore the most objectionable portion of an avowed policy of protection, and the Assembly has exhibited a decided leaning towards unfettered trade, yet it is open to doubt whether the "rurals" who constitute the majority, and who have been M. Thiers' warmest adherents, are really sincere in their anti-Protectionist professions. Between them and the manufacturers there is not any love to lose. They care less about the prosperity of the towns, which are hotbeds of Liberalism, than about the prosperity of the country, where the peasants go regularly to mass and to the polls at the bidding of the priests. It would be a calumny to charge them with holding broad, enlightened, and statesmanlike views on any subject under the sun. They have, however, the virtue of expressing their real opinions, or at all events of allowing few doubts to exist as to the opinions they entertain. Now these gentlemen have been growing more and more unfriendly to M. Thiers of late. He has not served their purpose so well as they had expected. He has given no ostentatious support to the Pope, he has not materially increased the authority of the priests, nor has he indicated any intention of speedily making way for a successor in the person of a Prince, who will take the guise of a President, or of a claimant who will at once enter upon possession of power as a King. Indeed, M. Thiers has let it be understood that everything, in his opinion, is for the best in the best possible France under the circumstances, and that he is the right man in the right place. Hence it is that the reactionary members of the Right were not slow to seize the opportunity caused by the unpopularity of the proposed duties on raw materials, and voted to oust from power the man whom they have delighted to honour. Probably the crisis came somewhat unexpectedly. Everyone was pressed, but no one was ready. The Republicans being in a hopeless minority could do nothing. The Orleanists and Legitimists could not make up their quarrels. Most important of all was a consideration which seems to have flashed through the minds of the excited Deputies after the result of this vote became known and the defeat of the Government was declared. Then it was that they asked each other with feelings of consternation, what will Prince Bismarck think of this—what course will he pursue? It is in circumstances like these that the real condition and the sure degradation of France becomes manifest. The Deputies fight among each other as to who shall lead them, like a body of schoolboys squabbling as to who shall be the head of the school, forgetful of the fact that there is a headmaster. M. Thiers is probably at the head of affairs in France now, because Prince Bismarck is the Chancellor of the German Empire.

Onlookers generally see most of the game, and can best estimate its chances. To an impartial spectator of French affairs, it is disheartening to observe our neighbours playing their game in such a manner as to alienate their truest friends. What the genuine well-wishers of France must desire is to see the people directed in the right path, and taught how to retrieve their disasters, and regain a higher position than they have ever yet held in the world's esteem. The chief thing to be done is to pay the indemnity, and to become repossessed of the territory still in foreign occupation. To pay the indemnity, taxes ought to be fairly apportioned in such a way that the maximum

yield is obtained at the minimum damage to trade. The protectionist policy of M. Thiers will, if carried into effect, have the opposite effect. To retrench all superfluous outlay is the best way to lighten the burden of taxation. M. Thiers, and the Assembly do not blame him for this, is resolved to increase the army estimates, and to add to unproductive expenditure, alleging in explanation that to do so is to exhibit patriotism. The Germans admit that French ignorance was one of their most potent allies during the campaign. A really patriotic Frenchman would say, Let the instruction of the people be our immediate and constant care, let the compulsion we exercise in making all young men enter the army be employed to compel all children to go to school. He would add, Let the education given to these children be such as will fit them for their duties as citizens of the State, leaving it to their parents or spiritual teachers to prepare them for another world and teach them how to die. Instead of this, it is proposed that the children who are taught at all shall merely be taught what the priests think proper. Experience has shown such education seldom forms good citizens, and more seldom still, good men. Never during the darkest period of the late disastrous war, nor even during the orgies of the Commune, did the political and industrial horizon in France appear darker and more lowering. Unless a statesmanship should be displayed of which there seems no hope, and a self-denying patriotism of which there is no trace, the immediate future of France is pregnant with two results more irreparable than repeated overthrow in battle—ruin to industry and anarchy in politics, to be followed, at a brief interval, by the prostration of the whole nation under the rule of a despot.

MISS MACPHERSON AND THE MATCHBOX MAKERS.

Among the numerous missionary agencies which individual or combined Christian enterprise has established in the East-end of London, there is none more hopeful and effectual than that which Miss Macpherson originated a few years ago amongst the little matchbox makers of Spitalfields. We feel that no apology is due to our readers for endeavouring to interest them in her work. Those of them who see our contemporary the *Christian* (formerly the *Revival*) will need no such introduction; but it is more than probable that four out of five readers of this article will learn here for the first time of this truly chivalrous lady and her blessed work.

Three little books have been put into our hands, entitled respectively, "The Little Matchbox Makers," "The Little London Arabs," and "Canadian Homes for London Wanderers," all of them written by Miss Macpherson, and published by Messrs. Morgan, Chase, and Scott, at the price of fourpence each. Probably Miss Macpherson had not put a line in print before she essayed to do so for the practical purpose which these are intended to serve, although there is no lack of force, either in style or arrangement, in the chapters linked together in these little tracts. They are simply admirable. So fully do they tell their story, that we can only do full justice to them by begging our readers not to be satisfied with an outline of their contents, but to get them, and carefully ponder them, for assuredly, if "pure religion and undefiled" was ever embodied in philanthropic effort (and where, indeed, has it a less equivocal embodiment)? it is in such work as this.

Miss Macpherson first became acquainted with the poor little children who have now become the objects of her care by periodically making a pilgrimage to London from her home in the country, to see "the wonderful gatherings of the poor in halls and theatres." On one of these occasions she was introduced to a lady who was a frequent visitor of the poor in attics and cellars in the East of London.

It was in such company (she writes), in a narrow lane, having followed high up a tottering spiral staircase till we reached the attic, that the first group of wee pale-faced matchbox-makers were met with. They were hired by the woman who rented the room. The children received just three farthings for making a gross of boxes; the wood and paper were furnished to the woman, but she had to provide paste and the firing to dry the work. She received twopence-halfpenny per gross. Every possible spot, on the bed, under the bed, was strewn with the drying boxes. A loaf of bread and a knife stood on the table, ready for these little ones to be supplied with a slice in exchange for their hard-earned farthings. This touching scene, which my pen fails to picture, gave a lasting impression of childhood's sorrows. Never a moment for school or play, but ceaseless toil from light till dark. Oh! the words of the prophet came vividly to mind, "Woe unto him that useth his neighbour's service, without wages, and giveth him not for his work."

The inquiry at once suggested by this extract is, will not these children and such as these be reached and in a measure rescued by the London School Board? But the reply must be that time alone can show how far their powers will avail them to better the condition of the children of the destitute poor; and meanwhile present hardships are unabated, nor can they be diminished except by the unwearied efforts of those whose hands are already in the work, and of others who shall co-operate with them. But to proceed with our story. During a visit to New York Miss Macpherson read in an American journal a sketch of the little matchbox-maker's experience which had been written by a clergyman in one of the London papers. She then made the resolution that, God helping her, she would enter on this field of labour on her return to England. Another reader of the clergyman's appeal sent a contribution of 1*l.* to the office of the *Revival* with the wish that it might be applied towards a tea-meeting for these poor children. "In searching for the matchbox-makers," writes Miss Macpherson, "in cellars and garrets, over thirteen hundred were found as guests; funds never failing till all had been regaled." Many such feasts were given, and meetings for mothers followed. Closer contact with the houses of the children revealed the necessity of providing an asylum for those who were without a parent's care, and of clothing the naked backs and bare feet. Miss Macpherson and her fellow-labourers in Spitalfields are too wise to imagine that all is done when preachers multiply. "Thousands," she says, "are preached at with a Gospel that is surrounded by so much logic and long sounding words that it goes over their heads. Jesus went among the people full of sympathy." A thousand pair of shoes sent in answer to a special appeal was the kind of sermon most likely to prepare the way for success in religious efforts, and so it proved. Then, as Christian helpers at a distance placed increasing funds at the disposal of Miss Macpherson and her colleagues, the Refuge and Home of Industry at Spitalfields, and the Girls' Home at Hackney grew out of their efforts.

Once in every month (she writes) we have a social tea and a Band of Hope meeting. The girls are delighted to be shown how to hold their needles, and to learn to make their own clothes; some are very quick, and are learning to knit. We are always cheered to read any letter from any little country well-wisher. We need help to clothe many a naked one.

In this work of faith and labour of love among the very lowest in our beloved country, let us press on, looking for great things. Preventing sin and crime is a much greater work than curing it. There are still many things on my heart requiring more pennies. As they come, we will go forward. "Not unto us, not unto us, but unto Thy name shall be all the glory."

At the Refuge and Home of Industry in Commercial-street, near Spitalfields Church, every day of the week except Saturday, a number of the little matchbox-makers are to be seen at work, and from these the orphans and those suited for service are gathered out and placed in the Girls' Home at Hackney.

Whole families have been assisted to emigrate, and are now doing well in Canada. As funds are sent in, it is a great joy to outfit a whole family and send them off where there is plenty of work and food.

At the refuge the brothers of these toiling little girls come under our care. We take them wholly indoors; they are taught to work, and are instructed in reading and writing, and emigrate to the Canadian Home, our agents still caring for them; and Christian ladies are interested to take a watchful care over them. In a little volume corresponding to the present book, and entitled, "The Little London Arabs," will be found fuller details of our efforts with the boys.

The workers here have willing coadjutors across the Atlantic, where lads and lasses who have learned to be useful and to practise self-control are certain to find a market for their labour. At the Home of Industry children are trained by careful hands and loving hearts for the work they will be required to turn themselves to when they arrive in Canada. And when they are drafted off, as some hundreds have been already, one of the party accompanies them and sees them safely stationed at the distributing home at Belleville, Ontario. Miss Macpherson thus describes the delight which she herself witnessed when she landed with one of the emigration parties.

In the wood the boys were overjoyed with delight, and ere long were like wild squirrels climbing the heights behind. The bursting acorns seemed to call forth their wonder; frogs were admired, many a pretty nosegay of wild flowers we each received on that occasion; all these works of our Father's hands were new and delightful to our London laddies.

It was amusing to witness their incredulity as our guide, a young Scotchman, told them of this history and that, and how the men who now owned the beautiful villas studding the mountain side had just been poor boys like themselves, and that but a few years ago; how they had ploddingly attended to business, and been blessed with this world's goods. And then he turned to the beautiful spires of this and the other church rising in the city, and now glistening in the summer's sunshine: how those very men had aided to build these places for the worship of God, adding the moral, that the same path of prosperity was open to them, if they

were only spared in the providence of God and secured His blessing.

Indeed, during the whole ten days in which the entire hundred were being dispersed to their Canadian homes, everyone who spoke to them would thus inspire the lads, telling them it did not matter what they had been, that the poorest had the same chance of advancement as the son of the most wealthy, and that all educational advantages were free. And most thankful we were to hear all who spoke to them remind them of the snare of drink, and to prosper they must shun the cup that "biteth like a serpent."

The distributing home which has been presented by the Canadian Government provides for the housing of 150 or 200.

The house is surrounded by pleasant grounds, a good garden, and pasture for a cow. Here, too, not only might the emigrant widow and fatherless one tarry for a season till the right start and location can be made, but the wearied out-worker might recruit under the balmy air of the glorious Canadian clear blue sky. And in this town of Belleville, among its gathering thousands, there are many dear Christians ready to show hospitality, and give the willing hand of help to those honestly and industriously disposed.

We have only to add that later reports show us that the work is still growing as it deserves. Another "home" in this country is secured at Hampton, where boys are trained for future service. A farm has also been purchased in Canada (west of Toronto), the purchase-money of which has been paid down in anticipation of the help of friends at home. If the means are not forthcoming, however, by the 25th of March, the farm will be resold. But if any who read these remarks are disposed to assist Miss Macpherson in her work by gifts in money or in goods, we would recommend them to communicate at once with that lady, at the Refuge and Home of Industry, Commercial-street, Spitalfields. It may be useful to state that every 10*l.* contributed enables her to fit out and emigrate one boy or girl. "Sunday-schools," she writes, "might aid us by adopting one case of either a boy or a girl, and continuing to correspond with them. Could we but take the superintendents of Sunday-schools to see the sights we see further appeals would be needless."

INTERNATIONAL ARBITRATION—CONFERENCE IN MANCHESTER.

On Monday a public conference in promotion of the principle of international arbitration took place at the Manchester Town-hall. The Mayor of Manchester (Mr. W. Booth) occupied the chair. Amongst those present were Mr. H. Richard, M.P., Mr. Jacob Bright, M.P., Mr. Peter Rylands, M.P., Mr. N. Buckley, M.P., Mr. Rathbone, M.P., Mr. H. Rawson, Mr. Hugh Mason, the Rev. S. A. Steinhil, Mr. B. Whitworth, the Rev. J. Clarke, Dr. John Watts, Mr. Elijah Dixon, Mr. H. Lee, and many other gentlemen.

The honorary secretary, Mr. Lewis Appleton, read letters of apology from gentlemen who were unable to be present. The Bishop of Manchester wrote—

I am thoroughly in sympathy with your object. Considering the high degree of civilisation at which the world is supposed to have arrived, to say nothing of the legitimate influence of Christian principles, it is nothing less than a monstrous anachronism that nations should still be found settling their quarrels, not before the tribunals of equity and reason, but by the brutal and irrational arbitrament of the sword. I think that without entering upon a fanatical crusade, which often spoils noble purposes, that all who view matters in this light ought to do what they can to contribute to the end at which your conference aims. I cannot but hope that the example of the way in which our differences are being settled (and I trust will be settled) with the United States may tell beneficially upon the sense of the rest of the civilised world.

Lord Derby regretted that his engagements put it out of his power to be present, but he would read with interest the proceedings of the conference. Sir Thomas Bazley wrote:

I have always heartily approved of that principle of adjusting the differences of nations, which will continue to receive from me all possible support; but I am sorry that my many business engagements will not permit me to join your meeting.

Mr. T. B. Potter, M.P. :—

I entirely sympathise with your movement on the subject of international arbitration—one of the most valuable objects of Cobden's teaching.

Letters were also received from Mr. J. T. Hibbert, M.P., the Ven. Archdeacon Sandford, Sir Wilfrid Lawson, M.P., Sir Walter O. Trevelyan, Bart., Mr. J. Cheetham, Sir Edward Watkin, Professor Jevons, Mr. J. Platt, M.P., Mr. Robertson Gladstone, Mr. H. Ashworth, and others, sympathising with the object of the meeting, and regretting their inability to be present.

After a few words of cordial support from the CHAIRMAN, Mr. PETER RYLANDS, M.P., moved :—

That, in view of the innumerable and immeasurable evils, religious, moral, social, and commercial, which war entails on the nations, this conference cannot but express its deep regret that no effectual means have hitherto been adopted by the Governments of the civilised world to avert the recurrence of this great calamity, by establishing some form of international jurisdiction for the settlement of differences between States, by an appeal to reason and justice instead of the sword.

In supporting the resolution, Mr. Rylands expressed his belief that, although we had been so

long in coming to this reasonable proposal without having it adopted, he felt satisfaction in thinking that we were very much nearer to it at the present moment than we had been at any previous period. He could hardly attribute much of that improved position to the services of religious denominations. He was bound to say that if those great doctrines which Christ came into the world to preach had been held forth in a suitable manner by men of all religious denominations, he did not believe there would have been war at the present day. Judged by this test, religious bodies during the last 1,800 years had failed in one great and important duty that devolved upon them, and even now they were not doing as much as they might do in this direction. He did not now speak upon this question upon religious grounds. He went upon a lower ground, and said that as a commercial country we ought to be sufficiently enlightened in reference to our own interest to see that in no circumstances could war do us any good. Whatever might be the dispute between us and other countries, it was quite clear that the settlement of that dispute by means of war could be of no advantage to the commercial community of this kingdom. He thought this was better understood than it used to be, and that the humbug of Government diplomacy in our transactions abroad was beginning to be felt. The truth was, that trade could not be created by means of war: trade could only be conquered by means of cheapness. He knew that Lord Palmerston used to frighten people by saying in the House of Commons that under a system of arbitration the arbitrators might decide wrongly. Far better that they should decide wrongly than that we should go to war in order to get what we supposed to be right. A small state might be right as well as a large one, but the determination of that right, if the two went to war, was simply who could bring the greatest number of battalions into the field. The question of right had nothing at all to do with it. It was a question of force. The only equitable mode of settling disputes was, he maintained, by arbitration.

The Rev. THOMAS GREEN (Ashton) who seconded the motion, denied that the clergy were apathetic in this matter, as was alleged by Mr. Rylands. There were no more earnest advocates of peace than were to be found amongst Christian ministers. The most heroic thing we could do as a nation was not to enlarge our armaments, but to diminish them. We should show a courage which we had never yet shown as a people if we were boldly to set our faces against war. He hoped one result of the conference would be to call forth an opinion throughout the country, the result would be to induce the House of Commons to vastly diminish our armaments.

The motion was supported by Mr. ELIJAH DIXON, and carried unanimously.

Mr. JACOB BRIGHT, M.P., moved the next resolution :—

This conference rejoices that several serious international disputes have been satisfactorily settled by amicable reference to neutral Powers, to international conferences, or to special commissions of arbitration, and that the beneficial application of the principle of international arbitration has been nobly illustrated by the Treaty of Washington, and that the efforts of the friends of peace should now be directed to secure the application of this principle to all international disputes.

He was happy to say to a Manchester audience that he believed that Manchester had a bishop whose views would be heard in Parliament on the right side of this question. The Bishop of Manchester had spoken often with great earnestness and great intelligence upon this question; and he suspected if the bishop were on that platform he would advocate peace, and desire to adopt those means which would secure peace, as much as anyone in that room. The proposition which Mr. Richard desired to be accepted by nations was a very important one. He wished them to settle by international arbitration those disputes which were generally settled by war. It might be said that he took a despairing view if he said that centuries might pass, but he thought it not unlikely that generations would have to pass before a proposition like that would be accepted of settling European disputes by arbitration. He had seen a statement that in Europe, including England, there were something like 5,000,000 men under arms. In time of peace that might be an exaggeration, but it would not be far from the mark to say that in Europe at present there were 3,000,000 men under arms. [Mr. STOKES: 3,500,000.] Well, he would take Mr. Stokes's figures at three and a half millions, and that number would be about equal to the whole number of men who are capable of bearing arms in England and Wales. That was to say, that amongst European nations men sufficient to constitute one great nation were living in idleness and carrying muskets. If the burden they had to sustain were simply that they had to find them in food, clothing, and lodging, it would be an enormous burden; but even that was not one-tenth of the real burden, for they had not only to provide the army with necessaries of life, but to furnish them with costly materials of war. He believed that Mr. Richard was not engaged in a vain endeavour. He believed many men would follow him in the same path, and that ultimately his great scheme would be accomplished. What was specially wanted was instruction and information throughout every class, and everyone knew that to get instruction or to impart it required great labour and patience.

Mr. WILLIAM RATHBONE, M.P., seconded the resolution.

Mr. HENRY RICHARD, M.P., supported the reso-

lution. He said he had given notice of his intention to move, during next session of Parliament, that an address be presented to Her Majesty, praying that she will be graciously pleased to instruct her Minister for Foreign Affairs to enter into communication with other nations with the view of the establishment of a general and permanent system of international arbitration. He was quite conscious that what he had to do in reference to this matter was to show, not its desirableness, but its practicability. All men admitted, with more or less sincerity, that the object in view was an excellent one, and that they would like greatly to see it accomplished, but they doubted how far it was attainable. He maintained that what he proposed was in harmony with the prevailing and prominent tendencies of civilisation. He thought he could show by reference to the past that there had been progress made in this direction, and that brute force had gradually had to recede from one and another province of human action in order to give place to the authority of settled law. He could illustrate this by reference to three customs that were at one time prevalent in all European nations, and had now entirely disappeared before the advance of intelligence and Christianity. One was the practice of judicial combat, another the practice of private war, and the third what he might call provincial wars. His proposal was that our Government should take the initiative in this matter; that it should invite the other Governments of the world first of all to select the best jurists that they could get together, in order to settle certain points of international law; and that then, when they had agreed upon certain principles of international law, by which to regulate the relations between nation and nation, a high court of appeal should be constituted, composed of the very best men of learning, integrity, and character. Then, when any differences arose between the nations, let them appeal to that tribunal to have the matter settled without having recourse to the arbitrament of the sword. (Cheers.) He could not but think that the present was in many respects a favourable time to make this effort. He had received a communication from a friend in Paris to say that they were about to form a society there to promote the settlement of international disputes by arbitration. He had also received an address from an important body in Holland, consisting of some of the leading men of that nation, in which they spoke to him most encouraging words because he had ventured to be the first to move in the matter. He had likewise received a letter from a distinguished member of the Belgian Chamber of Representatives, in which it was said: "I have seen with the greatest satisfaction the account that is given in the papers of the way in which the British public are responding to the proposal you have made to bring before Parliament a motion in favour of international arbitration. I believe you are hitting the right nail upon the head. It will be impossible for us to induce nations to enter upon the process of mutual disarmament until, first of all, they shall find some means presented to them whereby they can settle their disputes without arms; and I feel convinced that England, of all nations in the world, is the right country to take the initiative in this matter." (Cheers.)

Dr. PANKHURST moved the following resolution:—

"This conference is of opinion that the time has arrived to urge upon the British Parliament the propriety of requesting Her Majesty's Government to invite the other Governments of the world to join in such measures as may tend to promote the establishment of a permanent system of international arbitration; and to request that a motion to that effect will be submitted to the House of Commons during the coming session of Parliament."

The Rev. S. A. STEINTHAL seconded the resolution.

Mr. HENRY RAWSON, who put the resolution to the meeting, said he believed in Mr. Gladstone at the head of the Government in this matter; but there was another party in this country, and if they could get both to act as one in this matter, the resolution could be carried out.

Mr. WATHEM (Mayor of Stockport) moved, and Mr. E. ASHWORTH (Rochdale) seconded, the following resolution, which was carried:—

"That in order to bring this question fully before the people, and to secure the active co-operation of the friends of peace in their several localities for the same object, this conference recommends the formation of an international arbitration association for the counties of Lancashire and Cheshire; and that the following gentlemen be hereby appointed to constitute such an association, with power to add to their number."

Mr. W. J. EMMOTT then moved:—

"That for the furtherance of the movement in favour of international arbitration a special fund of 10,000l. be raised, to be payable in three yearly instalments."

Subscriptions to the amount of over 4,000l. were announced.

In the evening, a public meeting was held in the Town Hall, King-street, at which resolutions in favour of the motion of which Mr. Richard has given notice for the next meeting of Parliament, were adopted. Mr. Hugh Mason presided.

Cassell's New Popular Educator is about to be reissued. The publishers announce that the demand for the new edition, in its form of weekly numbers and monthly parts, has become so great that they have determined to reissue it at once in its serial form.

A country paper in Ohio prints this marriage notice:—"Married up town the other day, at Mrs. Williams's, Mr. William Williams, of Williamsport, to his cousin, Miss Lizzie Williams. For particulars see small bills."

Foreign and Colonial.

FRANCE.

THE CRISIS AT VERSAILLES.

M. Thiers's proposal to tax raw materials excited much opposition in France, and representatives of the Chambers of Commerce of Havre, Lille, Bordeaux, Lyons, Roubaix, and Marseilles proceeded to Versailles to protest against the proposed tax, and to urge the members of the Assembly to oppose the measure to the utmost. The question was under debate in the National Assembly on Thursday and Friday, M. Thiers vainly trying, on the former day, to get the Chamber to vote. The scene of Friday is thus described by the *Times* correspondent:—

M. Casimir-Périer spoke for the first time since the commencement of the discussion on the budget. He implored the Chamber to vote in favour of the principle of the tax on raw material, and to name a commission of fifteen members, to be entrusted with the duty of regulating its application. He was applauded by the Right and a part of the Right Centre. There was much excitement in all other parts of the Assembly, the noise gradually increasing. Several speakers mounted the tribune, but without being able to make themselves heard. M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire proposed an order of the day in conformity with the proposal of M. Casimir-Périer. M. Ferry proposed an order of the day declaring that the Chamber should reserve the question of principle, and should appoint a commission to decide if it is not possible to adjust the budget without taxing raw materials. His speech was received with applause from the Left, the Left Centre, and a part of the Right Centre, but with marks of disapproval from the other parts of the Chamber. M. Thiers ascended the tribune in the midst of the confusion. He said that to preserve the dignity of the Chamber it was necessary to vote after a discussion which had lasted eighteen days. This was followed by loud demonstrations of disapproval. One speaker declared that the dignity of the Chamber would not be compromised by time spent in discussing questions of such serious importance. He met with applause, which was continued throughout the whole building. M. Casimir-Périer declared that the Government would support the order of the day of M. Barthélemy, but that whatever might be the vote of the Chamber the Cabinet would accept it with resignation. This, too, was applauded. M. Johnston warned the Chamber that if it voted in favour of the principle of taxing raw materials, it would vote by implication for the denunciation of the Treaty of Commerce. M. Thiers declared that, if the principle was voted, the discussion on the Treaty of Commerce would be commenced in the beginning of next week. Amid much noise and confusion some speakers attempted again to secure a hearing. The House called for the close of the debate, and it was put to the vote and adopted. In conformity with the regulations a vote was taken on the priority of the order of the day proposed by M. Ferry, and the priority was supported by 377 votes against 329. There was the greatest agitation throughout the Assembly. The adoption of M. Ferry's order of the day was put to the vote, and adopted by 377 votes against 307. The sitting terminated in the midst of an excitement which was continued in the streets.

What subsequently ensued is thus graphically told by the correspondent of the *Pall Mall Gazette*, from which it will be seen that the President subsequently withdrew his resignation:—

After the vote of the Assembly on Friday the President of the Republic quitted the Chamber in a state of great exasperation, muttering that "those people would ruin France," and that he had been beaten by the Left, for which he had sacrificed so much. A great many attempts were made to calm the irritated President, but in vain; after deliberating with his colleagues, M. Thiers drew up his resignation and that of his Ministers in a letter that was immediately forwarded to M. Grévy, in spite of the solicitations of deputations from various parties in the Chamber and the efforts of personal friends. M. Poincaré-Quertier declared that, so far as he was concerned, nothing should induce him to retain his post as Finance Minister, and when M. Thiers retired to rest at two a.m. he was still inflexible. At six yesterday morning, M. Barthélemy Saint-Hilaire is reported to have found the President of the Republic calm but firm, declaring that having lost the confidence of the Assembly it would no longer be possible for him to govern. On their side, deputies were astir at an early hour, the streets of Versailles exhibiting an unusual amount of animation. Fresh attempts were made to induce M. Thiers to withdraw his letter to the President of the Chamber, but he turned a deaf ear to all entreaties, and would not hear of a reconciliation. Even Marshal MacMahon, who paid M. Thiers an official visit on the part of the army, failed to shake his determination, though he urged weighty motives against the course adopted by the President. The Commander-in-Chief of the Army pointed out the perplexity which such crises caused among military commanders, declaring at the same time that, however ready he and his companions in arms were to bow to the decision of the Chamber, they would not accept a dictatorship. The President of the Republic obstinately refusing to alter his determination, deputies set to work to frame a motion suitable to the occasion. The Right and Right Centre drew up an order of the day to the effect that the vote of Friday simply affected the economical policy of the Government, and was in no way intended to signify distrust of the Government, or an intention to refuse it that support which it had hitherto enjoyed. M. Batbie was commissioned to read this declaration in the Chamber. Several Deputies of the Left Centre asked to be made acquainted with the order of the day adopted by their colleagues, and signed it. The terms of this motion were then communicated to M. Thiers, who, dissatisfied with the expressions it contained, repeated his resolution to adhere to his resignation. At this point the Deputies of the Left Centre who had supported the Batbie order of the day took alarm, and determined to propose the substitution of "confidence" for "support," the word confidence having been purposely omitted by the Deputies of the

Right and Right Centre, who, strange to say, had voted for the Government on the very measure which produced the crisis. No one appeared to believe that M. Thiers would really hold out, and the proof of this is that none of the deputies busied themselves about a successor; but merely with the best means of coaxing back the irritated President without too great a sacrifice of their own dignity.

At last the hour arrived for the Chamber to meet, and all kinds of rumours were afloat in the lobbies. Some deputies declared that by the Rivet compact, which bound both President and Chamber, M. Thiers had no right to resign. M. Grévy had no sooner taken the chair than he proceeded, much to the annoyance of the Right and Right Centre, to read the letter addressed to him by M. Thiers. M. Batbie had already ascended the tribune when the resignation of the Government, which he thought might have been withdrawn without being read, was officially announced to the Chamber at the express desire of the Minister of the Interior. This formality accomplished, the members of the Government all left the Ministerial bench in the most theatrical fashion, M. Jules Simon, who has been a free-trader all his life, mournfully rejoining his friends of the Left; some Ministers going to the Centre, and one to the Right.

After a sharp debate, the order of the day confided to M. Batbie was carried almost unanimously, with this addition:—"The Assembly appeals to the patriotism of M. Thiers, and refuses to accept his resignation." Only eight members of the Extreme Right, and M. Ordinaire, of the Extreme Left, voted against the terms of this settlement. A deputation of the Assembly immediately set out for the Prefecture, where M. Thiers was awaiting the result of the debate, and it was remarked that M. Thiers, having drawn a blind aside, was anxiously looking out of a window, expecting the arrival of the deputies. After having listened to the modified order of the day, M. Thiers replied to the deputation. He declared that he was worn out with work, and that the struggle which had just taken place would probably be renewed. He added that the Government would again find itself at variance with the Chamber on obligatory instruction and military reorganisation, that he had for some time wished to retire, but as an appeal had been made to his patriotism he would again try to carry on the business of the country with his Ministers; and thus the crisis has received a temporary and unsatisfactory settlement.

The agitation is now calmed down, and all the Ministers, as well as the President, remain in office.

FOREIGN MISCELLANY.

When the Gaekwar of Baroda heard that the Prince of Wales had got over his dangerous illness he distributed 5,000l. in charity.

The number of women studying at the University of Zurich has so greatly increased of late that they now form a tenth of the matriculated students.

It is expected that Senor Castelar, the great orator in the Spanish Cortes, will visit England in May, when he will probably be the guest of Mr. Arthur Arnold.

Further accounts from India confirm the report that the Kooka outbreak has been suppressed. The *Times* correspondent at Calcutta telegraphs that Ram Singh and the other Kooka chiefs were arrested on Wednesday. Forty-nine Kookas have been executed. The Government troops from Delhi were not engaged.

DEFEAT OF THE SPANISH MINISTRY.—On Monday the Government candidate for the presidency of the Cortes, Senor Herrera, was defeated by 170 against 122 votes. The President of the Council went to the palace to report the vote to the King.

FATHER HYACINTHE has been in Rome for the last few days. He intends to bring out a periodical there to be called the *Esperance*. It is to be an organ of the Old Catholics of Bavaria, of whom Father Hyacinthe is an ardent partisan. The *Esperance* will be in French.

The *North German Gazette* announces that the difficulty with Brazil has been entirely settled. The relations of the two countries, it says, are as friendly as ever they have been. The incident which might have brought about a coolness has been arranged in so conciliatory a manner by the Brazilian Government that only the remembrance of the conciliatory manner remains.

MANITOBA.—Some news from Manitoba is contained in a Toronto telegram of Friday. The Legislature was opened on Wednesday. The Lieutenant-Governor in his speech referred prominently to the splendid advantages offered by the country to immigrants. The loyalty of the people had been shown by the rallying together of all classes to oppose the Fenian raid. The despatch adds: Well-authenticated advices from Manitoba report large discoveries of gold on the Peace River, and a rush of miners from the Pacific States is anticipated.

THE LATE MINISTER OF EDUCATION IN PRUSSIA.—The *Times* Berlin correspondent gives an account of the causes which led to the resignation (in effect the dismissal) of Herr Muhler, the Prussian Minister of Education. The main cause was that he would insist upon developing the "denominational system" to an intolerable extent. In fact, says the correspondent, he applied "the principle of toleration in a way the world had never seen before. In the Catholic schools teachers were salaried for denouncing Protestantism as heresy; in the Protestant establishments masters were paid by the same employers for reciprocating the compliment."

THE MURDER OF BISHOP PATTESON.—By the arrival of the Overland Mail we have advices from Melbourne to December 5. According to the accounts published in the Australian papers, there seems not the slightest doubt that the murder of Bishop Patteson was committed by way of retaliation.

tion for the cruel treatment of the natives by European traders. The *Melbourne Argus* says that a feeling of deep indignation has been aroused throughout all the Australian colonies, and that in Melbourne a monster meeting was held, at which a memorial to the Imperial Government was adopted, begging that stringent measures might be adopted to put an end to the new slave-trade that is being carried on among the South Sea Islanders.

THE ASSASSINATION OF FISK.—From America we have the painful details of the assassination of James Fisk, jun. It appears that Fisk's carriage, on its way to the Grand Central Hotel, was observed to be followed by another conveyance, in which was his "bitterest enemy," Edward Stokes. Presently Stokes got out and ran for some distance until he reached the entrance of the Grand Central Hotel. He passed into the main corridor just as the carriage of Fisk stopped in front. Stokes ascended the stairs to the first floor, and then went down the ladies' private stairway. He reached the first landing. Fisk had entered the vestibule, and was going up the last step when Stokes, above him, standing near the balustrade, rested a revolver on the rail and fired at Fisk. The shot struck him in the left arm; another immediately followed. It struck him in the abdomen, and Fisk cried out, "For God's sake, will anybody save me?" The impassioned Stokes glared at him fiercely, fired two more shots, and then turned and ran up the stairs. At the top of the staircase he was met by a gentleman who had heard the reports, and was hurrying to find what the matter was. He passed Stokes, and saw nothing singular in his appearance. Fisk was still crying "For God's sake, will anybody save me?" This gentleman, who is a resident of Boston, and a surgeon, lost no time in putting his arm under the head of the prostrate man, who was gasping. The people in the hotel, and those in the street at the time, crowded around in intense excitement, gazed and listened breathlessly, and with some horror, at the sight of blood that was running out of Mr. Fisk's sleeve on the floor. He was lifted and carried up the stairs and laid upon a bed. A messenger was hurriedly despatched for a surgeon. But medical help was of no avail, and Fisk, who showed great fortitude, gradually sank under his wounds.

A Boston paper says that the best way to improve the lot of woman is to put a good house on it and a good man in the house.

Leavenworth, Kansas, is said to boast of a man who is so tall that his likeness cannot be got into one picture. A local artist has painted his head and shoulders, and announces that he will be continued next week.

MADAME THIERS AND HER COFFEE.—Under the head of "Domestic Economy," the *Gaulois* has published the following:—"A deputy representing a great maritime city, while waiting to see the President, was received by Madame Thiers, who commenced a conversation thus: 'You can render me a great service, sir. A great quantity of coffee is consumed at the Presidency. Will you try to get it for me at cost price, and thus by supplying a certain quantity enable me to effect a saving?' The deputy, somewhat surprised, promised everything that the lady requested. 'Ah,' she added, 'but be kind enough to have it ground.' 'Certainly.' 'And afterwards to have it made up in small parcels.' 'Yes, madam; and then?' 'That is all.' 'Pardon me, you have forgotten to say at what hour I should attend to make it.'"

CHIGNONS EXTRAORDINARY.—We have all read in bygone days what a famous receptacle a certain article of our ancient and honourable grandmothers' attire made, but we had no idea that the ladies of the present enlightened generation turned that ornamental and highly popular head appendage, the chignon, to such valuable account. On Tuesday, being visiting day at a union not 100 miles from Bristol, it is the custom for a female officer to search the female visitors. Pockets were duly searched, dresses smoothed down, and everything appeared quite satisfactory, when lo and behold! the lynx eye of the worthy official detected that a lady possessed a remarkable fine chignon, rather too large, she thought, from the dimensions to be genuine. Raising her hand to this profusion of hair, out dropped a number of fine oranges. I will not say how many, but as the lady herself acknowledged they cost her twopence, and as that delicious fruit can now be bought so cheaply in our streets, I leave my lady readers to guess the numbers it must have contained. Now this seems very rich; but I have one thing more to mention, which, I think, will eclipse the oranges. The worthy official being now put entirely on her guard, beheld with scrutinising eye the size and shape of every chignon. Things went on smoothly till a little after eleven, when one entered with such a remarkable-shaped one that it quite took the searcher by surprise. No oranges here, thought she; not round enough. Whatever can it contain? it sticks out like the spokes of a wheel! Subjecting it to the same operation as the previous one, out fell (don't faint, ladies!) three of the finest Yarmouth bloaters ever drawn from the sea. One does not know which to admire most, the lady with the oranges or the one with the bloaters, but the one with the bloaters certainly had the advantage over her fair companion, as her hair would require no perfume for some considerable time to come. It calls to mind a case which happened in a union near Manchester in the year 1853, when a female visitor was detected with a large codfish weighing nearly 20lb. secreted beneath her clothes. —*Bristol Mercury*.

Literature.

SPIRITUALISM.*

The famous article in the *Quarterly* has aroused a new hubbub over a difficult subject, but has not contributed very much to the settlement of any one point. It took up the purely scientific and negative position, very baldly attributing the whole thing to delusions—to "unconscious cerebration," to magnetism, to mesmerism, which, however, are rather illusions than delusions. The *Quarterly* writer, in spite of his determination to scout the phenomena, has to acknowledge that he himself, on several occasions, only escaped from baffled perplexity by very astute after considerations. That such "epidemic delusions" are so powerful as to sometimes even catch up perfectly-equipped scientific minds like his in the dusty whirl left behind them is, on the whole, satisfactory to those who find themselves compelled to occupy a middle ground, and cannot side either with the rabid table-rappers, nor with the dogmatic scientists. Mr. Foster, for example, if he is no more than the *Quarterly* writer would prove him to be—a superior sort of prestidigitateur—certainly got a complete victory over the "perfectly-equipped scientific mind," and should, at least, have been celebrated for his transcendent powers, and not abused for carrying off the gifts of the upper ten thousand. "He not only answered, in a variety of modes, the questions we put to him respecting the time and the cause of the death of several of our departed friends and relatives, whose names we had written down on slips of paper which had been folded up and crumpled into pellets before being placed in his hands, but he brought out names and dates correctly, in large red letters, on his bare arm, the redness being produced by the turbulence of the minute vessels of the skin, and passing away after a few minutes like a blush. We must own to having been strongly impressed at the time by this performance; but, on subsequently thinking it over, we thought we could see that Mr. Forster's divining power was partly derived from his having acquired the faculty of interpreting the movements of the top of a pen or pencil, though the point and what was written by it was hid from his sight, and partly from a very keen observation of the indications given by ourselves of the answers we expected." And all this, notwithstanding that the *Quarterly* writer was quite alive to the necessity of baffling any such clever guessing as this, and tried all that he could not to discover anything to Mr. Foster in such a way. Seeing how completely our scientific *Quarterly* writer was baffled by the conjuror, and sent home to reflect and relieve his troubled mind by anything save rigid and satisfactory scientific tests, it would surely have been becoming in him to have been a little more respectful to other scientific men who had at the very least perseveringly tried scientific tests, and who had not, any more than himself, debarred themselves from "subsequently thinking it over," as honest men, "till they thought that they could see other sources of the divining power."

Besides, the *Quarterly* Reviewer has been convicted of several errors as to clear matters of fact, into which he could only have been betrayed by animus; and it is much to be regretted that the force of the article is considerably lessened by the alterations borne by the second edition. Mr. Sergeant Cox complains, and justly, that he was declared a convert to spiritualism, whilst almost on the same page an extract from a letter of his was quoted, in which he distinctly said that while he accepted the phenomena, he gave no opinion as to their cause. It is certainly as remarkable a fact as is the variability and arbitrariness of the manifestations of which scientific men complain, that scientific men do betray in this matter very considerable animus. Either they declare that they have no interest in the thing, as Professor Huxley, or they compliment those who believe in the phenomena being caused by spirits as ready to believe anything, as Professor Tyndall. Now, with all deference to the high scientific attainments of these two gentlemen, we think

the true scientific spirit should not be so extreme either way. Science must find some middle path. She should, as Novalis says, strive to be everywhere at home; and how can she be at home with that in which she has no interest? Then, again, when those who believe in spiritualism are dubbed as being ready to believe anything, we must remember that men like De Morgan and Robert Chambers have acknowledged that they had had such experience as made the fact of spiritual manifestation to them indubitable. We ourselves are no partisans: do not declare either way; only we would fain see fairness prevail in any attempt to investigate the matter; and just now there is more tendency to be frivolous than to be fair even on the part of men of science when they consent to discuss such topics.

It is a too common error to suppose that spiritualism is necessarily bound up with table-rapping, and those more material manifestations about which, for the greater part, these discussions are carried on. The spiritualism of Swedenborg, who is so often claimed as the father of modern spiritualism, is something very different. All Swedenborgians are spiritualists; but they are not necessarily table-rappers. According to Swedenborg, as Mr. Gerald Massey put it:—"We can only know spirit by means of correspondences, through material manifestations. Matter only serves as the corresponding means whereby the spiritual may become manifest in life. Creation is nowhere limited to act. It is ceaseless, infinite evolution of life from one source, and the motion of it all, and everywhere, and for ever, is the eternal and spiritual life. From this the first soul was created, and equally so the last created. In man the body is the outbirth of the indwelling life and form of the creating spirit; so the external world is spiritual existence figured forth in visible shape. The world of visible things, in truth, is but the body of this spiritual world, which everywhere infuses its electric leaven of life into corresponding forms by influx from the Eternal Being, and is the one sole final substance in the universe." Swedenborg found the other world not so absolutely different from our own; for men carried with them into the next world the leading characteristics that had marked them here; and, though communion could be maintained with spirits departed, it was reliable or misleading, precisely as men were sensual and worldly-minded or the reverse; like attracting like from the world of spirits, Mr. Massey thus deals with this materialised form of Spiritualism:—

"With many persons these physical manifestations are looked upon as an end in themselves to be followed for their own sake, instead of a means to an end—an incentive to growth in spiritual life. Numbers of curiosity-mongers run about with their foolish eyebrows lifted in restless search for repeated appeals to their barren wonder, victims to an idle curiosity, that uses the eye-glass to scrutinise instead of the eye to comprehend. This is the materialism of spiritualism—gross and godless as any other form of materialism. It sets up as sheer an idol of the sense as anything in paganism. Where the phenomena tend to lead the soul into the inner presence chamber of God, and enrich the spiritual life, the lowliest means may be sanctified, but where the meal is everything and the miracle goes for nothing except to invoke an encore of the miracle for the sake of another meal, then it is degrading, and of the earth earthly. The phenomena word intended to lift up the eyelids of the mind, and elevate the soul to a perception of the fact that there is a spirit-world about us, close to us, and in communion with us, and not to keep on cultivating the acquaintance of the blackguard and light-fingered gentry of the other world. . . . This is conforming the mind to the image of the abnormal in its lowest, most revolting form. Here we may note that St. Paul wisely distinguishes the two kinds of phenomena. He tells us that 'tongues are for a sign, not to them that believe, but to them that believe not; but prophesying serveth not for them that believe not, but for them that believe.' Again, the mediumship which depends on physical constitution must, I think, of necessity by a limiting condition on the other side and so determine the range of communication. Hence, as a rule, I believe the greatest manifestations of a physical force nature are produced by beings on the lowest plane of spiritual existence—earth-spirits; dwellers on the threshold; spirits that have not passed far into the interior life, but who remain materialised and ponderable, dense, dark as the mere dregs of this life that have sunk to the bottom, compared with the happier, higher souls that ascend and rarify, even as nature does in proportion as it rises to toward the light."

Nevertheless, in spite of what is here said, Mr. Massey tells us that he has had a very peculiar experience of abnormal phenomena, and that he means to tell his story some day. "But the time is not yet ripe, and I am not quite ready. Besides, it is but natural that I should wish before doing so to establish my sanity with the world—as far as possible—by work done in other departments." His little volume is of value in recognising and yet not over-estimating the value of spiritual manifestations; and in directing the mind to the higher spiritualistic idea which literature, in opposition to science, supports, and will effectually support, having the suffrages alike of Goethe,

* *The Debatable Land Between this World and the Next, with Illustrative Narrations.* By R. DALE OWEN, author of "Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World." (Trubner and Co.)

Spiritualism Answered by Science. By EDWARD W. COX, S.L., F.R.G.S. (Longmans and Co.)

Concerning Spiritualism. By GERALD MASSEY. (James Burns.)

Spiritualism: a Narrative and a Discussion. By PATRICK PROCTOR ALEXANDER, M.A., author of "Mill and Carlyle," "Moral Casuistry," &c. (W. P. Nimmo.)

Experimental Researches on Psychic Force. By WILLIAM CROOKER, F.R.S., &c. (Henry Gillman.)

The Quarterly Review for October, 1871. First and Second Editions. (Murray.)

Wordsworth, Tennyson, Emerson, and Mrs. Browning, and a host of others. Even Nathaniel Hawthorne, who always treated the table-turning and table-rapping with great scorn, was in this sense a true spiritualist, believing that in the disembodied state we "shall be able to send our thoughts any distance in no time at all, and to transmute them living and fresh into the hearts of those we love."

Mr. Robert Dale Owen is the distinguished son of a famous father. He has a high reputation in America, and has occupied important positions in the Government service. He was an unwilling convert to spiritualism, but, having had striking revelations made to him some years ago, he has ever since then been assiduous "to watch and test phenomena," and very careful to accumulate instances and evidences. He published some time since a book which was very remarkable in its own way, and in which he dealt with what he called "spontaneous spiritual phenomena," by which he meant instances of so-called unsolicited supernatural revelation or second sight, and all of that class. This was titled, "Footfalls on the Boundary of Another World." He has now issued a second, which we have named in our list, and in which he deals more especially with the other side—phenomena which he distinguishes as being *evoked*—in other words, with the revelations of mediums. He does not stick very closely to this programme, however, for he devotes more than a third of the work to a discussion as to the state of religion since the Reformation, criticising the various phases of theological thought; condemning Luther and Calvin for their narrowness, and blaming their perverted ideas of the innate depravity of human nature for the scepticism and earthliness of the present time, which has rendered needless the emergence of these vast spiritualistic phenomena. Even Swedenborg, he fancies, failed in great measure because he followed Calvin in two ways—first, as to this depravity, and next as to a certain infallibility. Mr. Owen is not always sufficiently close, either in his historic reading or in his thinking; but there is a sound idea at the bottom of his argument. He is clearly a universalist, whose convictions as such, have been deepened by his spiritualistic experiences. Some of the instances he gives are very striking indeed; and altogether they furnish as conclusive a body of evidence as it is almost possible to get together in this kind. He is clearly enough a sincere, earnest-minded, patient man, whose only aim is truth and the spiritual welfare of his fellows.

Mr. P. P. Alexander also entertains us with a narrative of certain events which came under his own cognisance. He, it is clear, accepts something and rejects yet more. He does not write with any affected seriousness about the matter, and yet he does not try to make out that there is "nothing in it." He hardly believes in spirits, but he believes in something more than the men of science believe; and defends his position very ingeniously. Some of the phenomena he witnessed are also very striking, and he will on no account allow that they were merely subjective impressions. He frankly admits points of suspicion against Mr. Home—the medium present when he witnessed the phenomena—and gives them all the weight to which they are entitled; and yet he is compelled to acknowledge the existence of a residuum of veritable fact, sufficient at least to compel a certain acquiescence. He says some of the smartest things we have yet read about Professor Tyndall's attempt, and convicts him—actually convicts him—of very underhand and unworthy ways of dealing when he has to do with "spirits." We can see that there was a glimmer of subdued fun about Mr. Alexander's face as he wrote; but for all that his evidence is right well worth reading, it seems to be so unprejudiced either way. What are certainly the most valuable things in his tract are the more philosophical passages, in which he now and then turns round gravely for a moment to confront Hume or Mill, just in such a manner as we would expect in one who has formerly written as he has done. This, for example, on Hume's famous argument against miracles, is capital:—

"It seems certain that, as the basis of his argument, Hume—without being clearly aware of it—assumes finality in natural law, and, as implied in this, the impossibility of a miracle. Having quietly assumed so much, he might have saved himself and others trouble had he considered everything assumed, and spared us his amusing Essay. Impossibility given, incredibility might well have been held to be given along with it; and an attempt to prove the incredibility by an elaborate apparatus of cunningly opposed probabilities, could be nothing but an ingenious puzzle, or bit of logical hocus pocus—a feat of intellectual *legerdemain* about as creditable to David as the feats of Mr. Home in the physical way, must be held to be creditable to Mr. Home, considered as a humbug and impostor. . . . But find him a miracle or marvel, with no suspicious

savour of religion about it, and he is frankly willing to admit human testimony might be competent to approve it. 'I own that otherwise (if not used, 'so as to be the foundation of any system of religion') there may possibly be miracles, or violations of the usual course of nature, of such a kind as to admit of proof from human testimony.' And instancing a supposed case of 'a total darkness over the whole earth for eight days,' vouched by universal tradition, he says: 'It is evident that our present philosophers, instead of doubting the fact, ought to receive it as certain and ought to search for the causes whence it might be derived,' seeing that such a case 'comes within the reach of human testimony, if that testimony be very extensive and uniform.' What is thus the accurate statement of the case? Hume announces, with some pomp, at starting, a grand new canon of criticism, by which all miracle whatever, or 'violation of the usual course of nature,' is peremptorily set aside, as incapable of rational proof. He himself, as above appears, has nothing like a thorough-going faith in it; merely using it as a convenient stalking-horse, from behind which to shoot certain arrowy shafts of his ridicule at the Christian miracles."

Mr. Serjeant Cox, moved by the "misrepresentation" of the *Quarterly Reviewer*, has been led to unburthen himself as to the real nature of the force. He certainly does not admit the notion of spiritual causes. He believes in the scientific theory, and the scientific theory, as he condenses it, is, in short, this—"There is a force proceeding from, or directly associated with, the human organisation, which, in certain persons and under certain conditions, can cause heavy motion in bodies, and produce audible and palpable sounds in such bodies, with muscular contact, or any material connection between any person present and the heavy body so moved, or on which the sounds are produced. This force frequently appears to be directed by some intelligence. This force is generated in certain persons of peculiar nervous organisation in sufficient power to operate beyond bodily contact. To those persons the spiritualists have given the name of 'mediums,' on the assumption that they are the means of communication between disembodied spirits and the living; but they who, with myself, dispute the theory of spiritualism, have given to those persons the more appropriate name of 'Psychics.'"

On either theory the phenomena well deserve investigation. Some of them we really cannot look on as being accounted for fully under the scientific theory; as, for instance, that of M. Bach, the great grandson of Sebastian Bach, in Paris, some years ago, cited by Mr. Owen, and apparently well authenticated; but, certainly, nothing is more to be commended than the attempt made by Messrs. Crookes and Cox and Varley to fairly test these phenomena scientifically, so far as is possible. For ourselves, we believe there is much of false to little of genuine; but this circumstance does not justify an assumption that would in effect declare all spiritual intercourse whatever to be *a priori* impossible.

SERMONS AND EXPOSITIONS.*

From a number of books before us devoted to the illustration of Biblical truth, we take first a new volume of Rugby sermons by Dr. Temple, interesting alike from the reputation of the preacher, the circumstances under which they were delivered, and the fact that they are the last of the series, the closing one being the preacher's farewell address from the pulpit from which he had so often appealed to the hearts and consciences of his pupils. Apart from their intrinsic worth, these sermons have a special value as enabling us to appreciate the spirit of the influence and teaching of a man who has been as bitterly assailed as any living divine, and certainly, if any one was to open the volume with such impressions of the bishop as he might have received from the representations of his persistent foes, he would be surprised at the tone of spiritual earnestness by which all these discourses are marked. We have heard from those who had the privilege of listening to some of them, and who heard them under the influence of strong prejudice against the preacher's theological and political opinions, of their singular beauty and force, and of the extraordinary impression upon the interesting audience for whom they were primarily designed, and certainly all that we have heard is fully borne out by the sermons themselves. In spirit, in structure, in style, and—not least important—in length, they are models of what school sermons should be. They deal with practical rather than speculative questions, and are not so much intended to instruct in the subtleties

of theology, as to set forth the practical duties of Christian life and stimulate to their discharge, to rouse the slumbering conscience, or confirm the hesitating will, to cheer the anxious heart discouraged by the sense of its own failures, or reanimate the flagging courage, not to please the curious intellect. In short, they treat religion as a life of struggle and duty, not as a mere creed. Probably many will think that there is not enough of doctrine, and especially that there is a failure to exhibit the distinctive doctrines of the Evangelical system; and in such criticism we should, to some extent, agree. But Christian charity would repress the charge of heterodoxy which some are only too ready to bring when we find the preacher teaching his hearers that "Our Lord did for us what He only could do, that in order to sow a Divine seed in the hearts of men, in order to breathe into us the living power of His own Spirit, in order to make us feel that God had forgiven us in order to be to us an eternal assurance of God's love to us, in order to enable us to say to our own consciences that whatever was needed, whether known to us or unknown, for our complete restoration to our Father's entire affection, that was and would be supplied to us; in order to do this He lived, as we read in the Gospels, and He died on the Cross, and gathered unto himself, as it were, of a whole world of sinners." That may not be the mode in which we should set forth the doctrine of Christ crucified, it may or may not appear to us an adequate statement, but surely he who teaches us thus does seek to inspire in the hearts of his hearers a personal trust in Christ and His work. Of the preacher's living interest in his work, his intense desire to exert an abiding spiritual influence on his pupils, his appreciation of their special dangers and difficulties, and anxious care to prepare them for dealing with them, there is evidence on every page. His youthful hearers must have felt as they listened to him that his words were the utterance of strong personal conviction and spiritual sympathy, that he was speaking of that which he knew from his own experience, and as one who had a message from God to speak to them, and while we would fain hope that the effect of these wise and faithful counsels may abide with many of them through life, we are glad that their usefulness is not to be confined to them. There are numbers who have passed out of the years of youth and are feeling all the excitement and pressure of life's stern conflict, who may find light, help, and inspiration in the manly Christian teachings of these sermons.

Equally admirable in its own line, though very different in its character, is Mr. Macmillan's volume on the "Ministry of Nature." The author is well known as a scientific scholar as well as an able and eloquent divine, and he evidently feels a special pleasure in making science a handmaid of religion, and using its facts and lessons to illustrate his theological teachings. There are evident dangers in this mode of setting forth truth. The analogies may sometimes be pressed too far, the illustrations may be so abundant that they may serve to obscure rather than to develop the ideas they are intended to set forth. The servant may in fact become the master, and the science which was meant to be subordinate may become the principal subject. Wonderful as some of Dr. Guthrie's discourses are, it must be confessed that in the profusion of figure the truth itself is often overlaid, and that hearers are apt to think too much of the perfection and beauty of the illustration, and of the wonderful word-painting. The same fault, though in a different form, may be found in some of these discourses of Mr. Macmillan. If they were mere essays we should not urge such an objection, for it might be the special object of the writer to bring out scientific facts, and the moral and spiritual analogies they suggest may be matters of very subordinate importance. But in pulpit discourses, as we assume these to be, the primary object is different, and the scientific teaching should be altogether subsidiary. Now here it is prominent, and in some cases so full, that we have a complete summary of what is known relative to the particular subject treated. With Mr. Macmillan, indeed, there is never the use of illustration for mere effect; he gives not words, but facts, and his treasury is so well stored that he astonishes us by their number and their appropriateness to the special subject he has in hand. It would certainly require a very intelligent congregation to follow and appreciate such sermons, and probably, after listening to some of them, they would go away impressed more with the marvels of nature as they had been placed before them than with the religious truth which had been taught. Possibly, however, we are wrong in treating these chapters, though they have Scripture texts as their head-

* *Temple's Rugby Sermons*, 1867-9. Third Series. (Macmillan and Co.)

The Ministry of Nature. By Rev. HUGH MACMILLAN. (Macmillan and Co.)

Secular Annotations on Scripture Texts. By FRANCIS JACOX, M.A. Second Series. (Hodder and Stoughton.)

Revelation in Progress. By Rev. J. H. TITCOMB, M.A. (Religious Tract Society.)

ings, as sermons at all, and if this be the case, we can give unqualified praise to this most charming and suggestive volume. As sermons, some of them, though some only, are open to the exception we have taken, but as studies of nature they are new and striking in information, beautiful in description, rich in spiritual thought, especially helpful and instructive to all religious teachers. If a preacher desires to see how he can give freshness to his ministry, how he can clothe the old and familiar truths in new forms, and so invest them with new attractions, how he can secure real beauty and interest without straining after effect, he could not do better than study this book. It is full of hints by which he may profit; it opens up to him pages in that great volume of nature which most preachers study too little, and it shows him how its lessons may be employed so as to make this outer and visible world a type of that higher spiritual world, whose power he would bring to bear upon the heart of man.

Mr. Jacox would furnish the preacher help of another character. He is manifestly a careful student, a diligent, and, if we are to judge from the variety of books quoted, and so quoted as to show that they have been thoroughly read, an omnivorous reader; and his design in his "Secular Annotations on Scripture Texts" is to show how wondrously literature almost of every kind illustrates the teaching of Holy Writ. That our great writers were largely indebted to the Bible, that the influence of its ideas and its language has been much deeper and more extensive than they would confess or probably even suspect, that it has supplied subjects, suggested illustrations, and exercised a formative power on style, is no new idea, and we have here abundant examples of its truth. But these "Annotations" go even beyond that, for the work has gone beyond the range of our own literature, or that of nations and times influenced by the Bible, and from every quarter he has collected phrases or passages that illustrate some Scripture text. Historians, poets, philosophers, political economists, novelists, all are pressed into the service. Even such unlikely books as Miss Braddon's romances have not been overlooked, and they have yielded their quota to the general store. The result is two volumes (for this is the second series) which are unique. The author has shown great judgment and good taste, as well as unwearied industry, and we have no doubt the book will be valuable, not only for the direct help it gives, but for its indirect influence as indicating the way in which the secular reading of the clergy may be made available for the special work of their ministry.

Mr. Titcomb in his "Bible Studies" has sought "to trace the progressive expansion of revealed truth from the beginning," and in order to this he has here carefully analysed the different books of the Old Testament, and pointed out the new ideas developed in each. We heartily welcome this attempt to make ordinary readers understand, what is too often forgotten, that revelation has been progressive in its character, that though the Bible is an organic whole, it is made up of a number of separate books written at considerable intervals of time, and indicating a different degree of spiritual knowledge, and that, as our author well says, if "on the one hand, we ascribe to the Old Testament Church a greater amount of Evangelical knowledge than it really possessed, we fail on the other, to realise the interesting growth of its true knowledge." The idea of following out carefully the line of development is a good one, and Mr. Titcomb has executed his task with considerable ability.

ELECTION INTELLIGENCE.

NORTH-WEST RIDING.—Mr. Isaac Holden, the Liberal candidate, has issued his address to the electors of the West Riding division. It will be found in our advertising columns. After paying a tribute to the memory of the late Sir Francis Crossley, Mr. Holden states that in Parliament their late member and himself were almost invariably found supporting the same measures of Liberal policy, and he is therefore emboldened to think that as a candidate he will be acceptable to a great majority of the constituency. He would cordially support the Ballot Bill. He recognises the policy of non-intervention in the affairs of other countries. He will seek to separate religious training from the imparting of secular knowledge, leaving the parents of children and the numerous Christian Churches to take care of the former, while the State may legitimately provide the latter. "The Education Act of 1870," he says, "required such amendment as would include the general establishment of school boards, and the removal of Clause 25. But in any modifications to be made due regard should be paid to existing schools which had been called into existence by voluntary agency and aid from the public purse." He will also support any measure tending to

"religious freedom and equality." Mr. Holden addressed the electors at Halifax last night, and will hold a meeting at St. George's Hall, Bradford to-morrow. Mr. John Crossley is his chairman at Halifax. Mr. Matthew Wilson, of Ashton, chairman of the Liberal Registration Society for the division, has accepted the chairmanship of Mr. Holden's committee. The licensed victuallers of the division have, at a meeting presided over by Mr. M. W. Thompson, Mayor of Bradford, decided to support Mr. F. S. Powell, the Conservative candidate, in the interests of the trade.

NORTH NOTTS.—Mr. Christopher Nevile, in announcing his withdrawal from the representation of North Notts, says:—

It became clear to me that I could not expect the support of the large landowners, in whose hands the representation practically rests. On the Church, the land, and the game questions, my opinions would probably not be approved. . . . I certainly should not spend a large sum in a contest. . . . Under these circumstances, I placed my resignation some time since in Mr. Foljambe's hands, if the Liberal party could find a better candidate. It appears they have adopted Mr. Laycock, and I cheerfully acquiesce in their decision.

Mr. Laycock—who, it may be mentioned, is the son of Mr. Alderman Laycock, of Low Gosforth, Newcastle, and chairman of the Blyth and Tyne Railway—has addressed various meetings in different parts of the division. He has expressed himself in favour of the ballot, which he looks upon as one of the most important questions ever brought before the House of Commons. This he took as already decided upon. He did not think they ought, altogether and without hesitation, to condemn the Education Bill of last session, but at the same time he could wish to see expunged the clause which provided for denominational education out of the rates. As a member of the Church of England, he did not advocate disendowment, but wished the Church to be disestablished. The sale of livings ought to be done away with, and as the livings were turned over they should become Government property, and fair compensation should be made for the owners' endowment. The most satisfactory way of treating the game laws would be to totally abolish ground game altogether. He spoke in favour of arbitration and conciliation, and had no hesitation in saying—speaking from experience—that if the masters and men engaged in the Newcastle strike had used more conciliatory language at the beginning, the strike need not have lasted a week. Mr. Laycock has been well received. The friends of the Hon. G. E. M. Monckton, the Conservative candidate, are actively canvassing the division. Earl Cowper, who holds extensive estates in Nottinghamshire, has just addressed a letter to his tenants residing in that county, saying that they are at perfect liberty to vote for any candidate they may choose at the forthcoming election for North Notts.

WICK BURGHS.—Mr. Laing having found that he could not rely on adequate support, has withdrawn from the contest, and left Mr. Pender in undisputed possession of the field.

KERRY.—Mr. Dease, the Liberal candidate for Kerry, has been very roughly handled by a mob of Fenians and Home-Rulers who support Mr. Blennerhasset. He was attacked in the town of Castleisland, Kerry, by a large crowd, who knocked him down, broke several of his ribs, and left him insensible. Archdeacon O'Connell and Dr. O'Connell, friends of the candidate, were also severely beaten. Five men had been committed for trial at the assizes for the assault. While the prisoners were being removed to Tralee Jail a crowd assembled, evidently with the intention of rescuing them, and the constabulary were obliged to keep them off with the bayonet. Large numbers of soldiers have been sent into the county to prevent riot at the polling places.

Miscellaneous.

THE CLERKENWELL OUTRAGE.—A poor woman, who lost two of her children by the effects of the Clerkenwell explosion, was so affected by the circumstance that she shortly afterwards went out of her mind, and has continued in this state ever since. Her constant cry in the ward where she is confined is, that her children are under the boards, and that they might be saved if some one would but try.—*The Rock.*

BALLOT MEETING AT BRADFORD.—A crowded meeting was held on Monday night in St. George's Hall, Bradford, in support of the ballot. Mr. Miall, M.P., Mr. Carter, M.P., Mr. Illingworth, M.P., and Mr. Freeman, the historian, were amongst the gentlemen present, and the proceedings were most enthusiastic. A letter was read from Mr. Forster, expressing his inability to attend, owing to his official duties, and adding his gratification that the people of Bradford were moving in favour of the ballot. The resolutions passed urged Government to introduce as early as possible next session a complete and comprehensive Ballot Bill, and also measures for providing a more equitable distribution of seats and the assimilation of the borough and county franchises.

THE PALESTINE EXPEDITION.—The long-expected survey of Palestine has at last been fairly commenced. Captain Stewart, R.E., the officer in charge of the expedition sent out by the Palestine

Exploration Fund, began his operations immediately on his arrival in December. A base line of four miles in length was carefully measured, "the several measurements agreeing wonderfully well together"; an examination of the country in the vicinity of Ramleh was made, and suitable points selected for triangulation. Further proceedings were stopped for a time by the non-arrival of the promised firman, and by an unfortunate attack of fever, which prostrated Captain Stewart for several weeks. He is now recovered, the firman has been received from Constantinople, and the triangulation is going on. The party has been joined by Mr. C. F. Tyrwhitt Drake, lately the companion of Professor Palmer in the Th.

ADMIRALTY BUSINESS.—The *Spectator* remarks that Mr. Vernon Lushington, Permanent Secretary to the Admiralty, has given the Megara Commissioners a noteworthy account of the way business is done in that department. It received more than 100,000 letters a year, but nobody was responsible for opening, registering, or, as we understand, for answering them. "In point of fact, though he was called Secretary to the Admiralty, the business was done here and there." Letters were passed on to departments, answered and sent to him, and he signed them, "knowing nothing about them" as "Secretary of a phantom board." He could not tell who would make or receive a demand for a new troopship, and believed there must soon be a revolutionary change, for things could not go on as they were. There were really twelve departments in the Admiralty, and "there was not any real control by the system pursued, for only patent defects could have a finger laid upon them, and the latent defects were to the patent defects as ten to one." That is the testimony, be it remembered, of an official not long enough in office to have become blind to the defects of the system.

THE LIVINGSTONE SEARCH EXPEDITION.—At a meeting of the Royal Geographical Society, held at the London University, Burlington Gardens, on Monday evening, Sir Henry Rawlinson in the chair, it was stated that the prospects of the expedition under the auspices of the society to search for Dr. Livingstone were encouraging, and it was expected that considerable addition would be made to the 1,700^l. already subscribed. An application for assistance addressed to the Lords of the Treasury had, however, been met with a refusal. Their lordships stated, in their reply, that "a new expedition is not the only means left by which Dr. Livingstone's safety may be reasonably hoped for." This communication was received with much disapprobation, and two or three members expressed anxiety to know what were the alternative means suggested. The Foreign Office had, on the other hand, given every assistance, and it was expected that the expedition, under the command of Lieutenant Dawson, R.N., will leave England early in February. Mr. Oswald Livingstone, second son of the missing traveller, being selected as one of the party. At a meeting held at Glasgow, on Thursday, to obtain subscriptions for the Livingstone expedition, 200^l. were raised. The Lord Provost stated that Dr. Livingstone's two sons and other friends in Glasgow were certain that the doctor lived, and that he was detained against his will in some remote district.

MR. MIALI, M.P., AND THE HOURS OF FACTORY WORKERS.—On Saturday afternoon a deputation from the Factory Association had an interview with Mr. Miall, M.P., at the rooms of the Liberal Electoral Association, Duke-street, Bradford, on the subject of obtaining legislative provision for further restricting the hours of labour in factories. The deputation, which consisted of ten members of the association, included Mr. Joseph White, Mr. Matthew Balme, and Mr. M'Wheeney. In reply to questions from Mr. Miall, Mr. White said that the hours of work in factories, according to the Act, were at present sixty, and where fifty-nine and less were the hours of work it was voluntary. The object of the association was to obtain legislative provision for a reduction of the hours of labour in factories from sixty to fifty-four hours per week, as far as related to women and young persons. The association did not wish to interfere with the hours worked by adult males in factories. After several other members of the deputation had remarked upon various points of the subject, Mr. Miall, in reply, said he entirely sympathised with the object the association had in view. If there were any differences of opinion it would be only with regard to the means of arriving at that object. The case was a strong one; and if he could bring his judgment into entire concurrence with his sympathies, he would be glad indeed to give it his support. But he would like time for consideration, and he would let them know his decision. He would be assisted in his consideration if he were not expected to make any communication till he had seen the bill. He would see Mr. Mundella on the subject, and ascertain his intentions, and would keep the association in doubt as to his opinion no longer than was necessary.

WORKHOUSE MILK.—At the meeting of the St. Pancras guardians on Friday the subject of the milk supplied to the workhouse was discussed. It was stated that the contract price of the milk was 2d. a quart, which as Mr. Parson remarked, was only a "milk and water" price. It was resolved that in future the contract should specify "new milk from the cow"; also that the butter to be supplied should be of a particular brand.

Glenninas.

MILDMAY PARK, STOKE NEWINGTON, LONDON, N. Mrs. and the Misses GOGERLY (wife and daughters of the Rev. G. Gogerly, late of Calcutta), expect their PUPILS to REASSEMBLE on MONDAY, 22nd January. Prospectuses on application. References:—Rev. W. Pennesfather, M.A., Mildmay Park; Rev. John Edmond, D.D., Highbury; Rev. John Campbell, Professor of Oriental Languages, King's College; Rev. Robt. Moffat, late of South Africa; Rev. Paxton Hood, Brighton; E. Pye Smith, Esq., M.D., Hackney; Thos. N. White, Esq., Morden Hall, Surrey; and the Parents of Pupils.

CROSS-STREET CHAPEL, ISLINGTON.

On SUNDAY NEXT, January 28th, SERMONS will be preached by the Rev. HARRIS CRASSWELLER, B.A. (late of Derby), the Pastor-elect, who will then commence his stated Ministry in connection with the above place of worship.

Service to commence in the Morning at Eleven, and in the Evening at Half-past Six o'clock.

ENGLISH CONGREGATIONAL CHAPEL BUILDING SOCIETY.

The EIGHTEENTH ANNUAL MEETING of the Members and Friends will be held in the Lecture-Room of UNION CHAPEL, ISLINGTON, LONDON, on WEDNESDAY, the 31st inst.

Chair to be taken at 7 p.m. by JOHN CROSSLEY, Esq., of Halifax.

Annual Report and audited Balance-sheet to be presented, and Committee and Officers chosen for the year.

Addresses are expected from the Revs. H. Allon, D.D., H. Simon, R. D. Wilson, T. Aveling, J. De Kewer Williams, W. Cuthbertson, B.A., W. Campbell, A.M.; and Messrs. J. Finch, J. Alexander, J. Glover, and J. Whitaker.

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY EXAMINATION for WOMEN, 1872.

An EXAMINATION will be held, beginning on MONDAY, June 17, 1872. Candidates wishing for information or desirous of attending Preparatory Classes or Lectures in London are requested to apply to the Secretary for the London Centre, Miss E. Bonham Carter, Ravensbourne, Beckenham.

CHLORALUM. An odourless, non-poisonous disinfectant. The saline antiseptic. Harmless as common salt.

15, Pembroke-road, Dublin,

11th September, 1871.

Sir,—I beg to state that the chloralum powder and solution have been largely employed in this city, and with the most complete success.

The bed of the River Liffey, which emitted a very offensive odour during the recent warm weather, was most satisfactorily disinfected by chloralum powder at the rate of only one pound per 25 square feet.

I have found it most efficacious as a purifier of stables, and I use it constantly in my own house. Altogether, I may say of chloralum that it is a very valuable sanitary agent, and one which is certain to come into general use.

I remain, your obedient servant,

CHAS. A. CAMERON, M.D.
Professor of Hygiene, Royal College of Surgeons,
and Analyst of the City of Dublin.

CHLORALUM IS DISINFECTANT.

CHLORALUM IS A SALINE ANTISEPTIC.

CHLORALUM IS ASTRINGENT.

CHLORALUM is sold in quarts, 2s.; pints, 1s.; half-pints, 6d. By the gallon, 5s. In large quantities by special contract at greatly-reduced prices.

CHLORALUM FOR CHOLERA.

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CHLORALUM POWDER.

CHLORALUM POWDER IS HARMLESS.

CHLORALUM POWDER.—The best stable disinfectant Chloralum Powder will be found invaluable in—

Hospitals	Cowsheds
Closets and Ill-Ventilated	Alleys and Roads
Earth Closets	Sewers and Gullyholes
Dustbins	In the Dairy and all kinds of
Wine and Beer Cellars	Provision Stores
Stables	In the Kennel, and in Poultry-
	houses

Chloralum Powder is not caustic or hurtful in any way, and although it absorbs moisture, it does not deteriorate by keeping.

Casks, 1 cwt., for 15s., and in 6d. and 1s. packets.

CHLORALUM WOOL.

CHLORALUM WOOL IN SURGERY.

CHLORALUM WOOL IN HOSPITALS.

CHLORALUM WOOL.—The New Styptic and Antiseptic Surgical Dressing. In pound and half-pound packages, at 6s. per lb.

CHLORALUM WADDING.—CHLORALUM WADDING, in sheets, price 2s. 6d.

Chloralum Wadding is used extensively as a disinfectant in coffins. A dead body, when covered with Chloralum Wool, cannot convey infection.

CHLORALUM IS SOLD BY ALL CHYMISTS.

CHLORALUM CO.—1 and 2, Great Winchester-street buildings, E.C.

Patronised by the CROWN PRINCESS of PRUSSIA, the SULTAN of TURKEY, and the NAWAB NAZIM of BENGAL.

THE SHAKESPEARE, £4 4s. HAND LOCK-STITCH MACHINE.

The only Establishment in London where the opportunity is afforded of inspecting and comparing every description of SEWING MACHINES before purchasing.

SMITH and CO., having no interest in selling any particular Machine, are enabled to recommend impartially the one best suited for the work to be done, and offer this GUARANTEE to their Customers:—Any Machine sold by them may be EXCHANGED after one month's trial, for any other kind, without charge for use.

SMITH & CO., 4, Charles-street, Soho, W.

(Four doors from Oxford-street.)

TO the ELECTORS of the NORTHERN DIVISION of the WEST RIDING of YORKSHIRE.

GENTLEMEN,—By the death of Sir Francis Crossley you are called upon to elect a representative to the Commons House of Parliament. In common with the rest of this constituency I deeply lament the death of a gentleman who has served you so long and so faithfully. Ever constant to his political convictions, he was found in the front rank of the Liberal party, both in the Legislature and in his native county; and following the dictates of a generous nature, he dispensed his benefactions with a noble munificence. His name will be fondly cherished by his countrymen, and his example and character will long maintain their powerful and beneficent influence.

In compliance with a request of a meeting of representatives of the Liberal party held yesterday, I offer myself as a candidate, and solicit the favour of your suffrages at the forthcoming election.

I refer you with confidence to my public conduct while in Parliament, where your late member and myself were almost invariably found supporting the same measures of Liberal policy; I am therefore emboldened to think that my candidature will be acceptable to a great majority of this important constituency.

If returned to the House of Commons I shall cordially support the Ballot Bill promised by the Government, as the first public measure of the session. I am sanguine enough to believe that under its operation our local and Parliamentary elections will be more peaceable and pure, and that substantial security will be afforded to the conscientious but dependent voter.

The recognised policy of non-intervention in the affairs of other nations, coupled with the adoption of arbitration in the settlement of international disputes, will eventually lead to a mutual reduction of armaments, to the continuance of the blessings of peace, and to a retrenchment in public expenditure. I shall cordially support all measures in accordance with this policy.

It is essential to the welfare of the State that the rising generation should be provided with the blessings of religious training as well as secular knowledge. The duty of imparting the former will be best discharged by parents and our numerous Christian Churches, while the State may legitimately provide the latter. In observing this wise and natural distinction, we shall best solve the formidable religious difficulty which is now revealing itself in different parts of the Empire.

The Education Act of 1870 requires such amendment as will include the general establishment of School Boards, and the removal of Clause 25. Of course in any modifications to be made due regard should be paid to existing schools which have been called into existence by voluntary agency and aid from the public purse.

In harmony with the growing conviction of the age, it will be my duty to support any measures tending to religious freedom and equality.

Legislation has at all times claimed a control over the sale of intoxicating liquors. An extension of such control might, no doubt, do much to increase the sobriety of the people, and the Legislature ought to occupy itself immediately with the consideration of this most important question,—with due regard to existing interests.

After this exposition of my views, it is scarcely necessary to say that I shall give the present Government my cordial support so long as it is loyal to the great principles upon which it was placed in power.

The above and other public questions I shall have the opportunity of explaining at greater length on visiting the various parts of the Division. If I should become your representative, I shall give my best attention to the various interests of this large constituency.

I remain, Gentlemen,

Your obedient Servant,
ISAAC HOLDEN.

Oakworth House,
Keighley, 16th January, 1872.

COOK'S TOURS to the EAST.—Mr. THOMAS COOK has left for the NILE, PALESTINE, TURKEY, and GREECE, with a full complement of passengers for the largest steamer of the Nile service, and for two or three encampments in Palestine, not more than 20 being designed for each camping party. Mr. JOHN M. COOK will leave on the 19th February with a SECOND PARTY for PALESTINE, Asia Minor, Constantinople, and Athens, that being the eighth of Messrs. Cook's Eastern Tours, and completing over 200 visitors to the First Cataract, and nearly 250 for Palestine.

A SUPPLEMENT will be added to the Programmes of the season, after to-day, January 24, which may be had, with the original Programmes, for 2d., by post 3d., at COOK'S TOURIST OFFICE, 98, Fleet-street, London.

COOK'S TOURS to ITALY, and Daily Tickets by the Brenner, Mont Cenis, &c., available for express and Ordinary Trains. The next PERSONALLY CONDUCTED TOUR will leave London, accompanied by Mr. JOHN M. COOK and assistant, on MONDAY, February 19. Tickets for a month, with extension if desired, by the New Corniche Railway, to San Remo, Mentone, Nice, Cannes, Marseilles, Lyons, &c. SPECIAL PROGRAMMES to be had on personal application, or by post for a penny stamp. Book of Programmes, 2d.; by post, 3d.

COOK'S HOTEL COUPONS, for over 100 first-class Continental Hotels, at 7s. 6d. per day; for Eastern Hotels, 13s. per day.

THROUGH TICKETS to all parts of ITALY and the East, and to Holland, Belgium, Germany, Switzerland, Lyons, Marseilles, Cannes, Nice, Mentone, &c., available for breaks of journey at all chief places. CIRCULAR TICKETS for ITALY issued daily at a reduction of 45 per cent., good for 50 days in Italy.

COOK'S TOURIST OFFICE, 98, Fleet-street, London.

THE LONDON INFIRMARY for DISEASES of the LEGS, Ulcers, Varicose Veins, &c., 1, Red Lion-square, W.C. Established in 1857, under the distinguished patronage of Miss Florence Nightingale, and many members of the Aristocracy.

President—His Grace the Duke of BEAUFORT, P.C., K.G. The ordinary income of this important and useful Charity is much below its current expenditure, and, but for the kind and generous help of those who have sent donations, the wards for in-patients would have been necessarily closed.

These diseases prevail very extensively among the industrious poor, and this is the only hospital in the United Kingdom where such cases are specially treated.

This valuable Institution has no endowment, and is dependent entirely on benevolent support.

CONTRIBUTIONS are therefore earnestly solicited, and will be thankfully received by Messrs. Coutts and Co., the bankers; or by the Treasurer, Thomas Westlake, Esq., 1, Red Lion-square, W.C.

NATIONAL INSTITUTION for DISEASES of the SKIN.

Physician, Dr. BARR MEADOWS.

Patients attend at 227, Gray's-inn-road, King's-cross, on Mondays and Thursdays, and at 10, Mitre-street, Aldgate, on Wednesdays and Fridays. Mornings at Ten; evenings, Six till Nine.

Average number of cases under treatment 1,000 weekly.

THOMAS ROBINSON, Hon. Sec.

STROUD LADIES' COLLEGE, BEECHES-GREEN, STROUD, GLOUCESTERSHIRE.

Principals—The Misses HOWARD.

Resident English, French, and German Governesses.

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Reports monthly. Test Examinations every term.

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